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THE  
THOMAS BROTHERS  
OF  
MATTAPAN Y

*Their Ancestry -- The Manor House -- Their Descendants*



Thomas

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RICHARD THOMAS

1797-1849





The million of that year in the morning early in the morning  
The bright names that earth can boast  
Just glisten -- and are gone."

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Rec'd July 18-1979



The edition of this book of the Thomas family of Southern Maryland entitled

THE THOMAS BROTHERS OF MATTAPANY  
Their Ancestry -- The Manor House -- Their Descendants

is limited to fifty copies. The book is not for sale.

The copyright is not intended to restrict the descendants of the Mattapany branch of the Thomas family in the use of any material in the book.

Distribution is to members of the Thomas family, The Library of Congress, The Maryland Historical Society, The Saint Mary's County Historical Society, and to the library at Mattapany.

This is book number 43, presented to

*New England Historic Genealogical Society*

*Amstutz Thomas*





# THE THOMAS BROTHERS OF MATTAPANY

## INTRODUCTION

This is the story of three gentlemen from Southern Maryland who were in their twenties at the outbreak of the War Between the States. However, the book is actually more than that for, with the inclusion of their ancestry, their descendants, their historic home "Mattapany", and the inclusion to a lesser degree of three other main branches of the Thomases (descendants of their father's three brothers), the work more properly may be considered a family book of the Southern Maryland Thomases.

We shall know two of the three brothers mostly from the words they themselves wrote; but the third, because of the dramatic episodes of his career, will be known to us mostly from the wide variety of persons who wrote about *him*. All three command our respect and admiration, but they were as different as three brothers could be. One was a soldier of fortune seeking excitement -- and he found it. The second was a deeply intellectual man and a distinguished orator who raised a large and fine family and who possessed high standards which he required others to meet. Between these extremes was the youngest of the three brothers, a more "average" individual, who lived his life in his own unspectacular way; he loved and enjoyed his family and his friends, and was loved and enjoyed by them in return.

These Thomas brothers were Richard (later Zarvona), George, and James William. In the Confederate army they held rank according to their ages: colonel, captain, sergeant. Their father was Richard (senior), the first Thomas to live at Mattapany; his likeness appears as the frontispiece of this book, from a portrait by Saint M<sup>e</sup>min. Their mother was Jane Wallace Armstrong, from Baltimore. The elder Richard had three brothers and each of the four of this prior generation is identified with a manor house in St. Mary's County, Maryland. From the names of these manor houses, four branches of the Thomas family are known: Mattapany, Cremona, De La Brooke, and Deep Falls.

The person most responsible for this book was my father, Armstrong Thomas (senior). He produced a book, of which only three copies were made, which comprises the text of pages 3 to 108 herein. In addition, he left family newspaper clippings, notes, et cetera, which constitute much of the later material. As to prior research, we are particularly grateful to Messrs. Mackenzie, Earp, and Fenwick; credit is given these gentlemen, and to the dozens of other contributors, in the places where these sources appear. My own part in the production has been that of further research, collating the data, inserting transitional comments, and preparing the pages in a manner suitable for reproduction.

The reader may be disturbed because of the lack of continuity, frequent change in format, omissions, and repetitions. The disorganization is due partly to the nature of the material itself but, in addition, the





the process of compiling. I have found that the fitting in of new data to a previously "organized" text is often a difficult and complex operation. In quoting from numerous sources, details of the story necessarily overlap. Deletions have been made at times in an effort to avoid repetition but, in doing so, one encounters the danger of destroying the continuity and general effect of the original source. On the other hand, a certain amount of repetition may be desirable, especially where the sources present conflicting statements or views, for then the reader is in better position to weigh the overall evidence. Apology is made for the book's many faults but, should this rough draft await a satisfactory smoothing, it is feared the pages would never get into print.

Generally no information obtained has been purposely suppressed. A minor exception is that a phrase was slyly deleted in photocopying a news clipping on Zarvona -- it was simply a phrase that I considered objectionable, and it is felt that Zarvona would condone the action. In another instance, a more important discovery was purposely blue-penciled; the assumed right to suppress this information is discussed in its proper place.

My original intention was to reproduce only a few copies of the pages that my father had prepared. Then it seemed advisable to add a few additional notes. During this stage I came across the original transcript of my grandfather's Diary in his own handwriting and, at about the same time, Anita Thomas presented me with a letter written by Zarvona while in prison at Fort McHenry. These two instances brought life and reality to the individuals concerned; there developed an affection for a grandfather I had never known, and a great interest in and respect for the extraordinary Colonel Zarvona. From then on, no information however trivial concerning the three brothers was without interest.

The problem arose as to what names I should use in referring to my relatives in the text. It would appear in better taste to have written in the third person throughout, and yet it seemed unnatural and awkward to speak of near-family by full name and title. On the other hand, one who is my cousin is another's aunt or uncle. A postscript in a letter to me brought to my attention that "My father was known as Captain George"; I was uncertain whether this was intended merely for my information or if it were a gentle rebuke, I possibly having referred to him simply as George. But it must be realized that, when I first "knew" my grandfather and two great uncles, they were a quarter century younger than I, and no disrespect should be inferred from my implied informality. In the text, however, they generally will be Grandfather, Captain George, and Zarvona -- or occasionally Little Grandfather and Little George (but it will be seen that Zarvona and Little Zarvona were two distinct persons).

Despite the lack of continuity, it is suggested that the pages be read in the order given. Should this not be done, many details in the later pages will lose their identity and significance. The section on Genealogy may be skimmed through or dwelt upon as desired but, in either case, it should be helpful as a reference *dramatis personae*. The reader will meet unexplained statements as he progresses (such as: why is Richard called Zarvona?), but many of these matters will be cleared up





in due course. He should not expect a continuous story, but should put himself in the position of the person doing the research, picking up and filling in the bits of information as they present themselves.

The opening pages, written by John Letcher, wartime Governor of Virginia, provide an excellent introduction to Zarvona. Next are two addresses delivered by Captain George. The first was given before his fellow army associates who, with him, served under Captain Murray who was killed at Gettysburg; the second was actually delivered at Gettysburg, Captain George having been chosen the speaker on the occasion of a memorial erected at the battle site. These speeches should be read, not only for their content, but with the idea of knowing the man. This likewise applies to Grandfather's Diary, written on the battlefields, which follows. The Diary should be read as a whole, not in parts. At times we wish there were more details, but we find drama and human interest. The story gains in momentum and reflects the mood of the writer -- from the early enthusiasm of a youthful and patriotic volunteer, through the hardships of war, the dreary months spent as a prisoner, and the final frustration in the lost cause. Concluding this section of the book are a few comments on the preceding pages, followed by commentary on Captain George Thomas and James William Thomas.

The section on Genealogy opens with the role of the Calverts in the early history of Maryland. Thence is traced, briefly, the ancestry of the Thomases through the Calverts and through the first Thomas settler in Southern Maryland. The descendants of Captain George and of James William are given completely and, it is hoped, accurately, to date. Less fully are treated the other three Thomas branches. Short comments or descriptions are given to further identify some of those listed. The Thomases are proud of their Calvert ancestry and the Calvert name appears in the present-day generation of Thomases. Since many of us know little about the Calverts, a brief history is given and even some Calvert letters are reproduced in an effort to make them more than a mere list of names. A bit of information of a personal nature tends to bring them closer. As an exaggerated example, I recently tuned in a television sketch on the life of Charles I of England with special interest because the King was, after all, a friend of the family! The last five pages of this section, in some copies of the book, are devoted to the Virginia ancestry of the Ellerson and Wallace families; in other copies they are left blank, to be filled in according to the desires of the individual recipients of these copies.

The history of "Mattapany" is given from the time of the Calverts to the present. The surrounding area and other Thomas homes in St. Mary's County are briefly described. Information is given as to structural changes in the mansion over the years. Reminiscences and stories of life at Mattapany are included, both here and in the Appendix.

The final section gives the story of Zarvona from many sources: family, friends, enemies, newspaper accounts, government records. No summing up by any individual could possibly do justice to these varied first-hand accounts. Scharf ["History of Maryland", vol. III, 451-452] describes "Madame Zarvona" appearing aboard the *Saint Nicholas* as a "very respectable French Lady", but Watts' description of her "scandalous" conduct has much more color -- Watts was there!





*Throughout the book original sources are usually quoted in preference to rewording the source.* Except for the Diary, which was not typed by me, quotations from script are *typed in script*; at other times script may be used where italics would be applicable. Reproduction was by photo offset.

The book does not have an index as it is believed that its inclusion would be cumbersome without being of great help to the reader. It is hoped that this Introduction and the table of Contents will suffice for the purpose.

I am indebted to Virginia Spence Lescure and Hilda Thomas Mumford for having read the pages prior to reproduction. Their "insulting" references to words misspelled, etc. have been carefully considered and usually corrections have been made according to their recommendations; however, in due justice, they should not be held altogether responsible for all errors in the final text. I wish to thank the many Thomases who have given their help and encouragement during the compiling of this book. In particular I should mention my cousin Kitty, cousin Margaret and "Little" Anne, Anita, my first-cousin Jim, Upton and young Dick, and my sister Ree.

This work has been prepared for the Thomas family, knowing that much of interest which it contains would be forever lost or difficult to obtain were it not thus reproduced. It is dedicated to our loved ones who came before us.

ARMSTRONG THOMAS

Washington, D.C.  
September 1963.



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ARTICLE OF  
GOVERNOR JOHN LETCHER OF VIRGINIA  
IN THE CONFEDERATE RELIEF BAZAAR JOURNAL ON  
COLONEL RICHARD THOMAS ZARVONA

---

COLONEL RICHARD THOMAS ZARVONA

"The death of this distinguished and gallant Confederate officer is thus announced in the Port Tobacco "Independent":

"'Death of a Conspicuous Character of the Late War, -- Colonel Richard Thomas, generally called Madam Zarvona, died suddenly last Wednesday night at the residence of his brother, James Thomas, in St. Mary's County, Md. Colonel Thomas became very conspicuous in the early part of the late Civil War by the capture of the steamer St. Nicholas. He took passage in the steamer at Baltimore, disguised as a 'French Lady', and at night, assisted by a few of his men on board, he arrested the captain and officers of the steamer and ran her to Fredericksburg, Va. After the war he resided some years in Paris, but returned to this country about two years ago. He was unmarried.'

"Colonel Zarvona was a most interesting and extraordinary man. He possessed a very fine intellect, greatly improved by cultivation; was well educated; had acquired a large fund of valuable and useful information on almost all subjects; was a good conversationalist, and a most pleasant and agreeable gentleman. As an officer, he was as brave as the bravest, cool, sagacious and intrepid, bold, resolute, and daring almost to rashness.

"He came to Richmond very shortly after the secession of Virginia, accompanied by Captain G. W. Alexander, a kindred spirit, and tendered their services to me, with an expression of their willingness to act in any position to which I might assign them. Their tender was accepted, and they rendered **important, valuable,** faithful and gallant service to the State and Confederate cause. Zarvona is dead; Alexander still lives!

"If any man has ever lived of whom it might be said 'he was insensible to fear', Zarvona was undoubtedly that man. He universally sought the most hazardous undertakings, and fearlessly exposed himself to the most formidable dangers. And yet modesty,





candor and sincerity were marked characteristics of his nature. Gentleness, kindness, tenderness, were predominant traits in his character. He was a sincere and devoted friend, a true and tried citizen, and a patriotic and gallant soldier. He was somewhat eccentric, but his eccentricities did not render him disagreeable; on the contrary, tended rather to inspire regard for and excite interest in him.

#### CAPTURE OF THE ST. NICHOLAS

"A few days after he reached Richmond he stated to me that he had a plan for the capture of the Pawnee, a formidable vessel, then lying in the Potomac river opposite Acquia creek, and which was annoying the troops there stationed. I suggested to him that I would like to have Commodore Maury present when his plan was unfolded and discussed, in order to have the benefit of his knowledge and large experience, and the valuable suggestions I knew he could give us. To this he readily assented, and Commodore Maury was sent for, but, being engaged at the time, sent a message that he would call the next morning at 9 o'clock. He was punctual in his attendance (as was his custom), and Zarvona explained his plan and the means by which he proposed to carry it into execution. His plan was to go to Baltimore, unite with him ten or a dozen resolute, daring young men, take passage on the St. Nicholas, and at a given signal take control of her and depose the officers, Zarvona assuming the command. The St. Nicholas was said to be the mail boat on which were carried the mails for the Pawnee, and was in the habit of running alongside of her in the night unchallenged and discharging the mail. This was the scheme, and we all considered it feasible.

"The question then came up as to the manner of executing it. We were to call upon the Secretary of the Navy and procure from him the necessary number of Colt's navy pistols and a supply of ammunition, cutlasses, etc., to arm as many men as the vessel could carry. All these things were promptly furnished by Mr. Mallory and sent on to Fredericksburg. We were also to apply to Mr. Walker, the Secretary of War, for an order to General Holmes, commanding at Fredericksburg, to select six hundred of his reliable troops, who should be sent to the mouth of Cone river by an hour to be agreed upon, and who should carry with them the arms sent up by the Secretary of the Navy. The St. Nicholas was to be there and receive so many of the troops as could be used in boarding and securing the Pawnee, the residue of the troops to remain at Cone river to guard the vessels that Zarvona might capture before he reached that place. He did capture a large amount of coffee, ice and other articles of much value to the State and Confederacy. The scheme was approved by the President, and we went actively to work to carry it out. The troops did not reach Cone river, however, until some hours after the appointed time, owing to some misapprehension of the orders. What the misapprehension was, or how it occurred, I have never learned. Hence the St. Nicholas, with her prizes, was taken to Fredericksburg, and the cargoes there landed. Captain Alexander accompanied Zarvona to Baltimore, and aided greatly in effecting the capture of the





St. Nicholas. It was regarded as a bold and hazardous enterprise when it was undertaken, and the Confederate and State authorities, who were alone in the secret, awaited the result most anxiously.

"After Zarvona's and Alexander's return to Richmond, I commissioned the former as Colonel and the latter as Captain, with the cordial approval of the Council and the Convention, then in session.

"After the capture of the St. Nicholas, the Northern people became exceedingly bitter towards Zarvona, and he requested me, by legislative act, to have his name changed from Richard Thomas to Richard Thomas Zarvona, which was done, and he was commissioned Colonel by the name of 'Richard Thomas Zarvona'.

"The boldness and success of this act made Colonel Zarvona well and favorably known to, and caused him to be most highly appreciated by, the people of Virginia and the South. Vast numbers of citizens of Richmond called to make his acquaintance and to pay their respects to him -- to express their thanks, and tender their congratulations. His room at the Executive Mansion was generally crowded with visitors from the city and the country, upon all of whom he made a very favorable impression. Many of the people of Virginia will doubtless recollect him.

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"At that time he was about twenty-one years of age, of rather small frame, unusually active, and possessed wonderful energy and determination. He wore the Zouave dress and the cap corresponding with it. His hair was cut very close. His habits were good, and while with me I never knew him to taste ardent spirits.

"When subsequently captured on the Patuxent steamer the Federals imprisoned him, first in Fort McHenry, and afterwards in Fort Lafayette, and kept him confined until the close of the war. After his release I received several letters from him, in all of which he complained that his health had greatly suffered from his long confinement and harsh treatment.

"I became very much attached to him, and appreciated him most highly for his integrity and his intellect, for his coolness and his courage, for his public and private virtues, and for the possession of all those qualities that make up the man. How true it is, and yet how sad it makes us feel to know it --

'That while the years, an endless host,  
Come pressing swiftly on,  
The brightest names that earth can boast  
Just glisten -- and are gone.'

JOHN LETCHER,  
Ex-Governor of Virginia.

March 29, 1875."





## TO THE MURRAY ASSOCIATION

### ADDRESS OF CAPTAIN GEORGE THOMAS

---

"We are here today, friends and comrades, to render just and fitting tribute to the memory of those of our immediate companionship who gave up their lives in the great struggle between the sections --- a glad and willing sacrifice, in defence of principles that they, as well as we, had ever been taught were the distinctive political axioms of the South. We do not come in this hallowed presence to proclaim the truth of those principles, still less to assert, or even to acknowledge, that the dread uncertainty of war has rendered a verdict that proclaims them false. This we willingly remit to the political agitator of the day to discuss, to the arbitrament of time, and the calmer judgment of historic days to render final decision upon.

"Setting all this aside, in memory of dear companions gone to their account, in recollection of their kindly deeds and knightly courage, of joys and dangers together shared and tasted, we come to celebrate the placing of this memorial stone, that will tell to every passerby that they whose names are there inscribed possessed a record that their surviving comrades were not unwilling should be read in the full light of aftertimes. The voice of passion is not yet stilled, the turbulence of the life-and-death struggle not yet quieted; yet so far stilled, so far quieted, that we may without all fear of misapprehension, join heartily in this our work of love and duty.

"And there are reasons why this memorial tribute is peculiarly appropriate at our hands. There is often an individuality observable about associations of men, that makes them to take hold of the hearts of their members with tenacious grasp, and to form as it were a part of their existence forever after. And this was especially the case with the company organizations successively commanded by Capt. Murray. Composed of homogeneous elements, the individual members having such entirely similar associations and ties to look back to and recall, there could not have been other than a feeling of perfect community pervading us as a whole; but above and beyond all this, there existed the further bond of that unitising influence that it is the special privilege of some men to exert, and which was to a peculiar extent exerted by our commander, who impressed his commands with his personal traits and characteristics, so that the designation, 'Murray's Company', became as familiar to the military ear as though he had been operating with an independent command. And so we come now, as the survivors of Murray's companies, to render honor to his memory, and as well to that of those of his commands who gave, as he did, their young lives to the cause. Not





then simply as Confederates, not as friends merely, do we pause for a little while in the bustle of life to come in a body to unite in the ceremonies of today. We come rather as bound by ties that make the memories we celebrate a very part of our own selves. Engrossed as we may be in the duties of life, separated, and engaged in occupations that keep us for the most part wide assunder, there is this at least in our past that makes us feel as one. There is that in our common history that will urge us with no common impulse to come here as to the Mecca of the heart, bringing with us, perchance, the hopes of the generation yet to play its part on the world's great stage, to recall for our comfort and for their instruction the deeds and characteristics of those whose names are here enrolled on history's most honored page. And why these? Near by are the remains of many who fell in the same struggle and on the same side, and never while life lasts will you be able to look upon these mounds and these monuments as upon any others; yet I challenge your own hearts to answer, if there be not still a different feeling in thinking of the times that are no more in connection with the memories of your comrades of Companies 'H' and 'A'.

"Well might you essay the lesson of self-sacrifice and noble endurance, pure prompting and unyielding determination, in recalling and recording the names and lives of the Lees, the Jacksons, and the Stuarts, the Pegrams, the Ashbys and the Winders, who, now but dust and ashes, have left name and fame that the pen of their most malignant enemy would utterly fail to taint or tarnish. Well might your hearts swell with honest pride in telling of the wondrous deeds of daring done on our well-loved Southern soil, when might and numbers struggling with the right, so often reeled and in utter rout recoiled before the skill and gallantry of their painfully outnumbered foe.

"Yet, with what different, with what tenderer feeling you would recall the day of Gettysburg, and tell how, the bristling summit almost gained, your own Commander Murray died; how, when the assembly was made at the foot of the hill, your shattered remnant looked around, aghast to see the gaps that sudden death had made; how Morrison, that sturdy soldier, came safely down the hill of death only to meet his summons at the base; of Ives, so gallant and so courteous; of Iglehart, so true and earnest and brave; and bright-faced Charley Lloyd -- can you not see him now? -- with blanched cheek and bowed form staggering from the ranks, yet running back in a little while to his post in the line, only to meet the too sure summons of a bullet in the brain; and Blakistone, with all his soldierly instincts keenly alive, anxious only that none should be before him in the charge. Such the names, such to us the memories of Gettysburg.

"The march after Meade, the winter in Hanover, Cold Harbor, White Oak Swamp; the trenches around Petersburg -- how with such mention crowd to our thoughts the names of Hollyday, Gill, Braddock, Denton, and a host of others who bore with us the trials of those days; Wagner, already devoted when ordered on the fatal skirmish







line; and laird, so gallant and true, always earnest, always with words of cheer, and always at his post, breasting the storm of battle as with charmed life, to meet his summons when the struggle was well nigh hopeless.

"And you, comrades of Company 'H', is there need that I should recall the special incidents of your career; the scenes with which you were most familiar during the first year of the trial; the names of those who with you enlisted in the days when all was hopeful for the cause, but who have now their names enrolled among the dead upon the field of glory; is there need that these things should be pictured in any poor words of mine, or that the two commands setting aside mere company designations and special recollections should be proclaimed as one, to make you keenly conscious of a sympathetic blending of associations that makes of us all, in everything that the term implies, peculiarly comrades?

"Separated though you were by the fortunes of war, your fates connecting you with different commands, is it possible for you to remember with any ordinary feeling, your old, your first command? Can you think of your assemblage at Richmond, remembering who your comrades were and their afterfates, without acknowledging it all as a part of your inner lives, from which you could not, even if you would, escape? -- a part most dear and most precious. How intimately must be associated with your most cherished recollections the figure of the gallant McKim, leading even Stonewall's own brigade in the charge -- to him, the charge that led to death and imperishable glory. Colston, and Lloyd West, do you not remember them well? -- struggling both with the Angel of Death, one with breathless steps reaching the heights of Bolivar only to meet a little speedier summons, one, stretched upon a bed of pain, begging for permission to go with his command on what was supposed an expedition to meet superior numbers, at the time of the Pohick march, destined, alas! to enter upon a longer, far more distant journey, ere the days of that autumn month were over. Mackall, Russell, Costigan, Steele, Hammett, Redmond, Rice, and all the glorious company of those who with them fell! Oh! how steadily by our sides then stalked the greedy reaper Death! how steadily marched our comrades to their fate! Forever let their names and deeds and principles be blended in our thoughts.

"And here let us ask, what was the particular characteristic uniting these men, who, in whatever field, under whatever leader, carried with them the soldierly pride and resolve sprung from their commander's nerve and iron will, that made them seem ever animated by like prompting? Know what was Murray's special trait as a soldier, and the question readily is answered. Stern, unyielding, unshrinking sense of duty; no thought, no impulse, no prompting, but the strictest sense of duty. His whole life as a soldier was but appropriately rounded by his death, in the face of the thousands fronting the little band of whom he was one. For him, standing there erect, with all his bravery on, his men lying dead and wounded all around him, two-thirds of his command already yielded to the





bloody needs of war, the line forced back, the summit not yet won, his instinct as a soldier telling him the day was lost, and with it the cause for which his sword had been drawn -- for him, such as he was, and so situated, there was but one course possible -- no step in retreat, no yielding -- only to stand though all alone, fronting the foe until the fatal blow should come; and so he fell. With him, as with those who followed him, there was but one possible appreciation of duty to the cause; death rather than defeat.

"Nor was this sublimity of devotion in him the result of desire for military glory; it was not born of sudden impulse, nor was it the creature, in any degree, of passion for renown. Those who knew him best recognize it as the necessary result of his fixed determination, in such a cause, never to submit or yield. In his death, he was but acting out the solemn conviction of duty that went to form a part of his matured resolves.

"You have all heard the story that is told of the Spartan mother in the time so far in the past, who, when called upon by her own son for a blessing as he was about to march to meet the foe, gave him no wish for individual renown, no wish for safety, none for speedy return, but with her whole nature alive to a just appreciation of duty to the cause when one's country calls, she bade him return either with his shield or on it. Since the day when first this story was told in ancient Greece, till now, the spirit that dictated the reply has been lauded ever as the noblest evidence of true appreciation of duty to a country's needs. Millions have heard and have taken the lesson to heart. The halo of historic myth is about it, and it seems to admiring generations as only an idealized representation of what might be in a true patriot's heart. And yet, the same beautiful tribute was paid, the self-same unselfish appreciation of duty was exhibited, in a quiet home in Maryland, when Capt. Murray went to announce to his mother that the time had come for him, with others of his kind and kin, to put in act and deed his expression of disavowal of the acts that sought to set aside the cardinal political doctrines that he had ever been taught were the safeguard and salvation of his country. He asked for his mother's blessing, but with it asked for no expression of desire that military glory and renown might come to him, none that he might safely return to his well-loved home, none that he might see her face once more; only the Spartan mother's blessing, this was all he asked. It was from no boyish impulse, from no ambitious longings, from no passion for the pomp and panoply of war, that he was ready and willing to enter upon the uncertain struggle. He saw and knew the right, and with his life was earnestly determined to maintain it. 'With my shield, Mother, or upon it.' So the blessing was asked, and so was given. And on his shield, all glorious and stainless, he was borne to the home of his fathers. Living, he was an example bright to follow. Dead, he is a splended memory that we most gladly honor."

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## AT GETTYSBURG

### ADDRESS OF CAPTAIN THOMAS

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"Capt. George Thomas, of St. Mary's County, acting adjutant of the Second Maryland Regiment in the battle of Gettysburg, who was badly wounded in the charge on the works, July 2, delivered the address. Capt. Thomas said: 'This is indeed a beautiful country, singularly favored by nature, wonderfully improved by the hand of man. Its natural beauties and attractions, its evidences of thrift and well-being are well calculated to arrest the attention of even the least observant. Peace and happiness, quietude and contentment would seem to have found here their most congenial home. But yet more beautiful and yet more attractive are the occasion, the prompting and the circumstances that mark our assemblage of today. To one taking in at a glance this splendid panorama of hill and plain, of mountain side and vale, of fertile field and busy mart of trade, it would seem scarce credible that this spot, so favored by nature and improved by man, could have been in the recent past the scene of armed contest between men of the same blood and lineage, having the same pride and the same traditions, like hopes and aspirations. To one familiar with the bitterness and heartburning that the history of those times recalls it would seem even less credible that the men of the South could be here to perpetuate by monumental record the memory of their own achievements. Is it then difficult to realize that the choicest handiwork of nature and of man may, in the track of human passion, be trampled in the dust? 'A field of the dead rushes red upon the sight' in quick response. Is it difficult for us, in our conception of the workings of human nature, to realize the possibilities exemplified by the courteous recognition of our privileges on this field, thus made a common heritage? Let us all with bowed heads have thankful hearts that time, the great healer and assuager, has so far softened the memory, so far healed the bitterness of the past, that the men of Maryland who once upheld the banner of the Southern Cross -- may here erect, under the very shadow of tributes to the Union dead, this memorial evidence of soldierly work demanded, and soldierly work well done, by the men of their command on the fateful days of Gettysburg.

'Without all thought of bitterness, without all fear of misconception, lift we then the curtain of the past, knowing that behind its folds there is to us no shame, to those who were our enemies no cause for further estrangement or distrust.

'We stand, my friends, where for the three long July days of '63 the armies of Lee and Meade, with almost more than human effort and endurance, strove for victory. This alone would render it





a point of no ordinary interest even to the casual passer-by. To every American there is something more, for as by intuitive perception it is felt that the contest here had in it those features that give it rank in the history of nations by the side of the mighty conflicts that in their results have marked out the destiny of the world. Upon the issue of that contest hung, so far as human intelligence can tell of possible results, the decision of questions that dating back for their inception to the very foundation of our government, had, as matters of prime political faith handed down from father to son, been so cherished by generation after generation of the two great sections of the North and South that their lines of political thought had at length so diverged that there was no possible outcome save by resort to that dread arbiter from whose decision there can be no appeal. With full realization of the responsibilities involved in the act, the gauntlet was thrown into the arena; with equal resolution and resolve it was lifted from the dust. There was no paltering upon either side with the magnitude of the interests at stake, and the preparations were commensurate with the powers that were to be opposed.

'Two years of the stubborn trial of strength passed by, and the end seemed as far off as at the beginning. Manassas and Seven Pines, Donelson and Pittsburg, the trial of the Seven Days, and the contest of Antietam, Corinth and Perryville, Fredericksburg, Chancellorsville! On these, and on an hundred other battlefields, the insatiate demand or the Moloch of civil war had been met, and still there was no rift to be seen in the cloud that hung as a pall over the homes of the millions of our land. From the sighing forests of Maine to where the tropic tides throb upon our Southern shore, here in the land of Penn, there by the fireside of the home of Washington, where Hudson trod, and where De Soto caught his Eldorado, there in that mighty region whose life blood pulses in the restless flow of the father of waters, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, in hamlet, town and village, and in quiet country home, there was the sound of wailing and the cry of woe. Yet none the less from North to South, from East to West, the fire of battle still fiercely glowed in every heart.

'But even then the mighty fiat had gone forth, and the day was close at hand when the supreme effort was to be made that was to determine upon which side the meed of the victory should rest. And it was here -- here that the men that followed Lee met with that crushing repulse that gave to the ensuing contests those features that, culminating on the plains of Appomattox with the fading from our view of the knightly crest of Lee, caused to be furled for aye that banner so long upheld in honor and in pride.

'At no time since the first sound of war had rung throughout the land had the heart of the South beat with more hopeful aspiration than when, in the early summer of '63, the line of march was taken up and the movement northward was begun. With full ranks and as high resolve the opposing force met one by one the moves of Lee. With march and countermarch, with thrust and feint and hurrying to and fro





of armed battalions and brilliant strategy, the game of war was played, till here, where no sound of war's alarms had ever come, with a shock that was felt to the utmost bounds of our continental domain, the battle of destiny was joined.

'The character of the campaign, impressed upon it from its incipency, had marked out for Lee the necessity for inception in attack, and his was not a nature to hesitate when the time for action had come, nor were his the men to cause a feeling of doubt in the heart of their commander. After the first day's engagement, favorable to the Confederate arms, calmly and with a soldier's eye he viewed the difficulties to be overcome, estimating at their full value the advantages to be gained by possible success, weighing well the resources at his command, and relying upon his trusty soldiery to do all that men might do, he determined upon a continuance of the contest. And so for two more days of bloodshed, from here at Culp's Hill, there upon the cemetery slopes, and further on, where the grand charge of Pickett and his Virginians was met by the storm of shot and shell that swept them, even at the moment of victory, from existence, and further still, to where in the far distance Round Top frowns at the extreme left of the Federal line, with all the appliances of modern warfare brought into play, the fierce attack and desperate resistance in very revelry of death went on. Gallantly, most gallantly, had the men of his command responded to Lee's appeal, but the work demanded was beyond human performance. And when, on the morning of the fourth, the day dawn came to look upon the dead that along these slopes in thousands lay cold and stark together, upon the wounded and the dying crowded close in ranks unnumbered in the hospitals at the rear, upon the thinned and wasted remnant of the host that for three long days had striven in the very jaws of death for victory, upon every feature of the scene, ready as that remnant was for renewal of the contest, there was impressed the evidence, plain now, though unacknowledged then, that the beginning of the end had come. What matters it that Lee, as he fell back sorely wounded, presented a front so bold and an array so compact that even the stout hearts of Meade and his lieutenants hesitated to strike at the foe in retreat! What matter the days of the Wilderness, the gallant charge at Lookout Heights, or the dreary hours in the trenches at Petersburg! It was here that the chief act of the great drama was played -- all that went before the prelude; all else the sequel.

'The military mind and the popular heart have united in selecting this as the one battle-field whose distinctive features are to be preserved by enduring monuments that will tell to future ages and to coming generations the story that was writ in their fathers' blood. Memorial stones, recording brilliant deeds and bold achievement, with tributes to the dead upon the field of honor, are to be seen on every side. Here Reynolds fell, there Vincent bravely died; here Kane upheld his Pennsylvania pride, there Hancock in his splendor fought with nerve of steel; here Farnsworth, there Weed and Hazlett fell; here Slocum held his vantage around, there Gibbon met the fierce assault of Trimble and of Armistead. Splendid memories, well





deserving a nation's pride. But in all this the story is but half told, and now the managing control has, with liberal and broad appreciation of its duties and obligations, thrown wide the door to the survivors of the Confederate commands to complete the record, worthy in its entirety to be engraved 'with an iron pen, in lead, upon the rock forever'.

'The first to avail themselves of the privilege thus accorded is the regiment to which I had the honor of belonging, known then as the First and afterwards as the Second Maryland Infantry, and we, the survivors, are here to mark the point gained within the opposing lines, at the close of the second day's engagement, and further to indicate the movements made on the following morning, of the nature of a forlorn hope, when the handful left were well nigh destroyed.

'The history and character of that command are in some points peculiar, and it is not altogether inappropriate that to it should have been reserved the honor and the privilege of being the first Confederate organization to mark its place and indicate its deed upon this field. Strictly a volunteer organization at the outstart, it retained that feature, soon in great degree peculiar to itself, till the close of its existence. Again, the men who, with the courage of their convictions, left their homes in Maryland to cast their fortunes with the South were no more agitators or disorganizers. The historic names of the Goldsboroughs and the Johnsons, the Halls and Steuarts, the Tilghmans and the Howards, the Pacas, the Carrolls and the Barneys, the Stones and Lloyds who filled our ranks, give token of no churlish or ignoble blood, the descendants of the men who formed their State and who made the history of their colony, whether by sword or pen, to shine with peculiar lustre, even in the brilliant period of the revolutionary epoch, these men but put in practice the lessons they had learned from childhood when they staked their honor and their all and offered up their lives upon the altar of devotion in the effort to maintain the principles of their political faith.

'The representatives in the Confederate service of this phase of Maryland sentiment were scattered far and wide, attached to various and widely-separated commands. The attempts to unite them in one command for many reasons failed, and it thus happened that the Second Infantry, in some sense to be considered the successor of the old First that fought at Manassas, was the only Maryland organization of that arm in the service, and its members consequently felt as a body and as individuals a peculiar pride that upon them, small though their numbers were, fell in large degree the duty and the obligation of upholding the honor of their native State. This monument will tell whether or not that Honor was safely lodged and cared for.

'The part played by the regiment in this connection is not long to tell. The morning of the 29th of June found it in camp near Carlisle, under field officers Lieut. Col. Herbert and Major Goldsborough. It was attached to the brigade of Gen. Geo. H. Steuart,







in Johnson's division, Ewell's corps. When the command moved from camp on that morning it was with ill-concealed dissatisfaction that the men found the movement to be, as they supposed, one of retreat. It was not until the morning of the first of July that the movement was so far developed that its aggressive character became plain. When the sounds of the engagement then progressing at Gettysburg first struck upon their ears as they reached the crest of the ridge that shuts in the Cumberland Valley upon this side, and the word was passed along the line, 'Close up, men; close up. Hill's corps is in', the wild shouts and hearty cheers and quickened pace showed how ready they were for the fray.

'Passing over the scene of the first day's engagement, they bivouaced for the night in the open ground to the north and east of the town, sharing in the general belief that before the dawn of another day they would be called upon to charge the heights frowning in their front. It was with something of a feeling of dismay, certainly with one of disappointment, that the tired men were roused from their slumbers on the following morning to find the sun high in the heavens and no movement made. From their somewhat exposed situation they were moved to the protection of the wooded ground, still further to the east, and there, in anxious anticipation, they awaited the signal for advance, which they knew could not be long delayed. At last, about four in the afternoon, the signal-gun was fired. In an instant the roar and din of over 200 field-pieces filled the air, telling but too plainly what work would be required of them before many moments had passed.

'The fire slackens, and their veteran experience tells them that the infantry is now to be called into action. The command is given, and steadily given, and steadily the line moves on closer and closer still to the foot of the heights, where are the serried lines of infantry and the numberless batteries posted too far above our own to be engaged with prospect of advantage. The balls begin to tell before Rock Creek is gained. Crossing that, the difficult ascent begins, the fire thickens and the shrieking shells fill all the air with horrid sound, but still the line moves on over the high projecting rocks, men falling at every step, till at last, by nine at night, the position is reached that is to be marked by the stone we rear today. Herbert is down and the line is fearfully thinned; but it is no time to count the losses -- only time to think of the enemy in front and upon the flank. For the tired men there is to be little rest or sleep, for, wedged in as they are in dangerous proximity to the very vitals of the Federal line, the position must be held, no matter at what hazard, and scarce a man can be spared from the active watch. They know, too, that the work before them when the morning dawns is to be of more trial still, and so they pass the night, not knowing when the fierce rush may be made in the attempt to hurl them from their place, knowing nothing of support to the right or to the left, trusting that all is well, and ready, when the command is given, for further sacrifice.





'When the daylight comes they find themselves almost alone. They stand upon the extreme left of the line, with only the fraction that remains of the Tenth Virginia further on. The position seems scarcely tenable when, after having lain for hours under a withering fire of infantry and artillery, the order comes for a charge upon the works to the right and front. The men are no novices in the art of war and they know that the move is desperate. But the order is imperative and it is not their part to question -- only to obey. Our gallant brigadier, with a full heart, passes along the line, changes the direction, sees that all is ready, then, with bright blade waving high, with clear command cries 'Forward,' and leads the way.

'It was but a little way to go. As the line, well preserved, passed into the opening just beyond, a burst of flame and shot and shell seemed to sweep the devoted band from earth. To advance was impossible -- the odds ahead were too fearfully apparent; to remain was simple madness. There was no alternative, and so the order to retire was given, and when the little handful was assembled, under the command of the gallant Torsch, further down the slope the survivors looked around with wonder that even they were left alive. Of the 400 who started to climb the slope more than 200 fell; some, in the confusion of the night's engagement, had wandered into the enemy's lines; all of the staff and Murray, the first captain, gone; Murray dead nearly at the foot of the entrenchments. Such is the simple story that this tablet tells.

'Comrades, we have together shared trials and dangers that knit our hearts as one, by ties the strongest that man can know, and of all the memories that cluster about our hearts there are none that appeal more strongly to our tenderest affections and to our pride than those that are immediately recalled by our ceremonies of today, and I cannot but feel and give expression to the feeling that I have been honored far above my deserving in having been selected as the organ of your feelings and affections on an occasion such as this. Conscious of the many obligations under which your unvarying kindness and good-will laid me when associated together in the honorable career of arms, I rely upon your kindness and forbearance if I have not come up to the full measure of your expectations. In few and simple words I have recalled the story we would not willingly let die. A tongue more eloquent and a heart less full might have done it ampler justice.

'Comrades, we go to our homes when our ceremonies are over conscious of having performed a most sacred duty. In the time to come some one of us may stand under the shadow of this monument to tell of the labor and work of dear companions gone to those who know of our days of sacrifice and devotion only as matters of old tradition, and the reply may rise to the lips, 'And yet you failed', and you shall say, 'Not so; not so.' Failure is in duty left undone. Obeying the call of sacred obligation, we did our part as best we might, trusting for our justification to the God that ruled our hearts and had our cause in hand. To Him and to His will we bowed.'





'And now, sir, it is my duty and my great pleasure to turn over to the charge of the association which you represent this memorial of the deeds of the sons of Maryland whose cause was lost in the clash of arms. You will guard it well, not as a tribute to the cause that's dead, but as an added page to the great record you have in charge -- a record which belongs to no section and to no time, the joint heritage of the North and of the South, and of right to be transmitted in all its fullness to the ages yet to come.'

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CAPT. WM. H. MURRAY  
died at Gettysburg 3 July 1863

"Living, he was an example bright to follow, Dead, he is a splendid memory that we most gladly honor."

. . . G.T., page 9

"I liked him, and he was a fine soldier, a fine Captain."

. . . J.W.T., page 53





TRANSCRIPT OF DIARY KEPT BY J. WM. THOMAS, 1861-1865

1861

May 22. Left home on Wednesday, May the 22nd, 1861, 8.30 o'clock P. M.

May 23. Breakfasted May the 23rd at Mr. Plowden's; dined at Col. Dent's; (Note 1) from his house left for Virginia in Dr. Comb's sailboat, leaving the Maryland shore just before sunset. Reached Mr. Lampkin's, on Maddox creek, Westmoreland County, Va. about 11 o'clock P. M. Very kindly received. Started for Port Royal Friday morning, May the 24th, under the guidance of Dr. Ditty. He kindly arranged everything for us and preceded us as far as Port Royal. Dined at a private house and reached Port Conway, where we crossed the Rappahannock river to Port Royal. Very kindly entertained there while one of the gentlemen made arrangements for a wagon to take us to Milford Station, on the Richmond and Acquia Creek road. Reached Richmond about midnight on Friday, the 24th. Stopped at the "Exchange and Ballard". [Notes begin page 89.]

May 25. Enrolled in Company "B" Maryland Guards at 9 o'clock A. M. Saturday. (Note 2).

Started about 11 A. M. for camp at the new fair grounds; encamped in the swine sheds, and got along very comfortably.

May 28. Ordered off at 3 A. M., Tuesday, the 28th, and stopped in Petersburg all night. Met with a very pleasant reception, particularly from the ladies. Among the latter were Miss Mary M. Robison and Misses Delia, Ella Martha and Nannie R. Carrington. Also Miss Sarah Carrington of Richmond. These ladies were very kind in making up little things for us, and in rendering our time agreeable.

May 29. We left Petersburg about 8 A. M. May 29th under orders to proceed to Norfolk, unless otherwise directed. Reached Suffolk about 10.30 A. M. and received a despatch to remain there. Were quartered in the C. H., a fine brick building with large windows, and a fine, shady yard. In the rear was the jail, in which was confined a spy.

May 31. Friday, May the 31st, 7 1/4 P. M. started on a march of ten miles for Chuckatuck. Reached it at 10.30 P. M. having made the march in 3 1/4 hrs. including 25 minutes lost in rests. Were about to quarter in the Masonic Hall, but received invitations from several residents to go in squads to their houses to sup and lodge; accepted by the officers much to our gratification.

I stopped at Mr. Godwin's; enjoyed the supper and rested well. Much pleased with Mrs. G.; all were very hospitable. Mr. G. brought out some fine five-year-old "apple jack" which was much appreciated.

June 1. Ordered back to Suffolk Saturday June the 1st and reached there about 2 A. M. on the 2nd.

20 miles





June 2. Thus far we were under the orders of Col. F. E. Thomas, the company being commanded by Capt. J. Lysle Clark with R. Curzon Hoffman as 1st Lieut., W. Stewart Symington, 2nd Lieut. and Jos. Selby, 3rd Lieut., Geo. G. Gibson, Richard Mason Barnes, Jno. W. Scott, D. Bowly Thompson and C. E. Hayward, Sergts.

June 5. On Wednesday, June 5th, ordered by Genl. Huger to take cars for Richmond on the 6th. This order was received with shouts by the men, the prevailing wish being to be stationed near Maryland, and where there is likely to be a battle.

June 6. Today, the 6th, a tug came up the Nansemond to take down two cannon. Federal troops now on the north side of James river, near its mouth, also at and near Fortress Monroe. Left Suffolk at 1.30 P. M. At Petersburg were kindly greeted by the ladies and the crowd. Marched through and took the cars for Richmond, when crossing the long bridge near Richmond, Higgins, an Irishman, being "tight" charged bayonets on a following engine and fell. He came near falling over the edge of the bridge, which is 40 or 50 ft. above the water; his legs overhung the side. This man, I hear was married to a Northern woman. He placed his wife under the protection of his family and joined us. Reached camp at night. Called for and heard Col. Gilhan. We then repaired to the pig-sties which we found quite filthy. Cleaned them out and "went to bed", which means that each man rolled himself in his blanket and lay down upon the ground to rest. Before retiring we had supper; this being some bread and molasses issued to the men, which took the place also of dinner since we had passed the day without any.

June 8. On Saturday, June the 8th, about 5.30 P. M., we marched to town with drum and fife, the musicians being a part of the cadets' band from the V. M. I. We proceeded to the Capitol Square to receive a banner presented to the Md. Line by the ladies of Baltimore. It was brought over by Mrs. Col. McLoughlin, and given to us by her, through ex-Senator Mason. Col. Thomas made a few remarks in response. In the centre of the Capitol grounds is a monument surmounted by an equestrian statue of Genl. Washington; below are three statues, Jefferson, Mason and Patrick Henry. It is a very fine monument of brown stone. The grounds are large with fine walks and two jets.

June 13. June 13th observed as a day of fasting and prayer throughout the Southern Confederacy. Late in the evening company "D" (Capt. Murray) came out and took possession of the "Horticultural and Domestic" quarters. My brother George is First Lieutenant.

June 15. June the 15th (I think) Mike Robertson's Company (C) came in and bunked next to us; Hugh Mitchell 1st Lieut. and Dr. James Bean 2nd Lieut.

June 17. June 17th I obtained a transfer to Co. "D". Sergeant Sullivan, W. N. Carr, and W. F. Smith, were also transferred.





June 18. Sullivan, Howard, Stewart and Lyon appointed Sergeants. Gilmore, Johnson, Macall and W. Lemon, appointed Corporals.

June 19. Mustered in for the war under the impression that we could not muster in otherwise. Afterwards, I believe, this was changed by the desire of the Co. expressed through the Captain.

June 20. Received a flag from Miss Rider of Baltimore worked by her own hands. She rode out on the parade ground, dressed in a liberty dress and bearing the flag. She was very small and a good horse-woman for one of her size.

June 22. Ordered to Winchester to join the First Maryland Regiment. The main part of the baggage was sent to the Central R. R. depot in the evening. I was detailed as one of the Guard.

June 23. Sunday, 6.30 A. M. companies "A" & "D" left Richmond. At the plains stopped for about 10 minutes. This was about 5 P. M. I had eaten no breakfast nor dinner, had not a cent and could borrow none conveniently. I told Mr. Chin, who kept the hotel, that I had no money and asked for a biscuit. He told me not to mind that, but go and eat dinner. I thanked him and enjoyed it very much. Reached Strasburg about 8 P. M.; slept on the piazza of the church. Left there at 8 A. M.

June 24. June 24th with six wagons, an omnibus and two stages; reached Winchester at 2 P. M. Camped 1/2 mile out on the Romney road.

June 25. Joined by eight Maryland companies being the balance of our regiment. (Note 3)

June 26. On dress parade received orders placing us in the fourth brigade with the 13th Virginia, 3rd Tennessee, and 10th Va. Regts, ours being the 1st Maryland. Also an order appointing Col. Elsey to the command of the Brigade. Another making Lieut. Ward acting Adjutant. Today we elected Corporal Gilmore Junior Second Lieutenant. George quite sick. He was taken to ex-Senator Mason's. The family was very kind to us and invited me to come and stay there as much as possible.

June 27 and 28. Dined at Mr. Mason's. Supped there on the 29th and returned to camp at tattoo. By invitation from the ladies returned for the night. Passed the sentinels by Capt. Murray.

June 30. Left the breakfast table without ceremony to answer roll-call at 8 1/2 A. M.; at 9 A. M. had muster-roll. George down to dinner. Heavy rain. Very well protected by the tent, which is a private wall-tent. Ten are in it, so we have to lie pretty close, but we find a rainy-day in camp rather disagreeable. We find visiting when we get a chance, a pleasant recreation. The ladies I met at Mrs. Mason's are Mrs. M., Miss J. M., Miss Ida M., and Mrs. Ambler a daughter of Mr. Mason.





July 1. Drilled in ranks for 2 1/2 hrs. Reveille sound at 4 1/2 A. M., tattoo 9 1/2 P. M. and taps at 10 P. M. Went to Mr. Mason's at 1 P. M. Heard day before yesterday that the Northern troops had evacuated Williamsport and moved down the river. Expect they will cross today or tomorrow (if they are not afraid) and will either attack us or Beauregard's command at Manassas Junction. We have 13700 men here and at Manassas about 38000. Rained considerably in the evening.

July 2. Clear, with a brisk breeze, cool and bracing, not much like July weather. I have been wishing to celebrate the 4th by a victory; there now seems some chance. About 1 P. M. received orders to be prepared to march at a moment's notice and to have three days rations. It is rumored that they are fighting hard at Williamsport. George is not in camp. I fear I will not see him before we start. 4 3/4 P. M. left camp. Passed through Winchester and bivouacked about 7 1/2 P. M. in a clover field; our company detailed as guards. I was on guard from 2 to 4 o'clock. Early in the evening saw a comet near the Great Bear.

July 3. Reveille sounded before I went to sleep. After reveille I had a short nap. Marched to a woods about a quarter mile short of Bucklestown, a small village called also Darksville. Had just fallen asleep with a stone for a pillow when we were ordered to "fall in". Jackson's command had had a brush with the enemy, had taken about 50 prisoners and retreated from superior numbers. They are bivouacked to the west of the village, and we to the east in an open clover field. The sun pouring down --- shaded a little by my blankets --- slept on our arms. Very heavy dew, just like a rain --- blanket got very wet. Received my first letter from mother. George came up in Sen. Mason's carriage. Not entirely recovered, but getting along pretty well. Sleeping in the heavy dew rather injured him.

July 4. Waiting to find whether the enemy will advance, or force us to advance. Nothing of importance; in the evening went foraging with two others; fell in with some morella cherries and enjoyed them very much. Had to go 2 1/2 miles to get anything to eat, then we had some nice milk, bread and butter. Had pretty heavy battalion drill over the hills and down the vales, knap-sacks and all on. 39 miles

July 5. Another severe battalion drill. In the evening went to look for a sulphur spring -- found it about 3/8 mile to the S. E. of our bivouac. Bathed and went across the country to visit the cherry trees. To my chagrin found them stripped. Stayed up last night until 1 1/2 A. M. cooking. Reveille sounded at 2 A. M. We had to "fall in" with knap-sacks -- remained in ranks some time but did not march.

July 6. Went to the sulphur spring and about 1 3/4 P. M. received notice to hurry up and "fall in". The whole camp was under arms -- the enemy reported to be advancing. We expected at attack at any moment. Much to our disgust, after waiting some time, Col. Stewart commenced drilling us in double-quick. We were under arms until





5 P. M. There being no show of a fight, we then broke ranks. Had to change our camping ground, so made new straw-sheds in a different part of the field. Had a fine dinner; 3 pieces of ham, one corn-cake and one flour-cake. These George sent to me while on guard. Decidedly the best meal I have eaten since I left Winchester.

July 7. Sunday. Early in the morning received orders from Genl. Johnston stating he had offered battle to the enemy for four days; that they would not accept it; that it would cost too much loss of life for us to attack them; we should resume our former position. He complimented us and "hoped we would obey this order as cheerfully as the former one". From the bivouac to Camp Johnson our former place of residence is about 19 miles. We had scarcely any breakfast -- in fact since we left camp J. we never had more than two meals a day and sometimes only one. On the way I stopped at a farm-house and had some nice milk, bread and meat. Caught the regt. at the next rest. Stopped about two hours in the woods about 4 1/2 miles from Winchester and then took up the line of march. Many had dropped off. A Va. regt. was now ahead; as usual they marched at a snail's pace -- very tiresome. I, with others, went ahead, and arrived at camp 1/2 hr. before the company. Was put on guard that evening for the next 24 hrs.

July 8. Received a letter from Mother.

July 9. Very heavy rain; some of the largest drops I ever saw. The other six Md. companies received their tents just before the rain. Streams of water ran through some of our tents, though our special one was quite dry, the chief objection is the mud. You go out, get muddy, have no mat, and consequently soil your tent floor. This is very unpleasant as you have to sleep on it. Fired the guns off. They had been loaded when near Darksville.

July 10. Received orders to strike tents and march. Started, and when about 3/8 mile off just to our spring were turned back. Stacked arms, and awaited orders for about 4 or 5 hours then returned to our camping ground with orders to cook rations for 3 days.

I was detailed as one of the cooks. Had no dinner, but a pretty large supper, of rice cakes and meat. Pitched only two or three tents. A heavy rain during the evening. This set back the cooking very much. I and most of the company slept on the ground. I slept quite comfortably. Slept on our arms but were not disturbed during the night. The general impression seems to be that we must have a battle in a few hours.

July 11. Today pitching tents. After dress parade, obtained permission of Lieutenant Gilmore in command, to leave camp. Supped at Sen. Mason's. My first visit since my return -- received very cordially. J. S. Lemmon was with me.

Mrs. Ambler proposed that we should go to see some of her cousins. We went with their bro. Mr. Burrell (?) several ladies and gentlemen there. Mrs. Dorsey of Elkridge, Md. sung. Her voice





very cultivated, and rather sweet with great compass. The two Misses B. sung very sweetly. In return (?) several of us gave them "Peanuts", and "Gay and Happy". They seemed to enjoy it. I spent a very pleasant evening, and returned about 11 P. M., desiring to have many such.

July 13. Rained in the evening, and this prevented me from spending a pleasant evening at Sen. Mason's.

July 14. Had battalion inspection of arms, accoutrements, ammunition, knapsacks, and general appearance. In the evening regiment passed in review.

July 15. Struck tents, and encamped about  $3\frac{1}{4}$  mile from Winchester on the Darksville road. Remained there until Wed. evening (17th) awaiting an attack. We then received notice that Patterson was on the march via Harper's Ferry to unite with a division from Alexandria. *59 miles*

July 17. Received orders to march to Manassas Junction, and left about 5 P. M. Marched all night, and reached the Shenandoah (15 m.) via Millwood.

July 18. Forded the river, and marched all night. Reached Paris, Friday morning (19th). The greater part of the troops took the direct road to Piedmont, to take the cars. We, expecting to march all the way, took the Manassas road. At Upperville, heard that we also must go to Piedmont. Reached it Friday night (19th) and slept in the bottom.

A great many troops were there, and was quite a dirty place. Upperville to the river is  $8\frac{1}{2}$  miles. Upperville to Piedmont is 4 miles. The whole march then was  $27\frac{1}{2}$  miles. Saturday, we were marched up on the hill and in the woods. Here, as a very unusual circumstance I note that we had both shade and water convenient. Slept out on the hill. *86 1/2 miles*

July 21. Sunday. Started about daybreak in cars for Manassas Junction, which we reached about 11  $1\frac{1}{2}$  A. M. The two armies had been fighting all day about 4 miles from the breastworks, which are at the Junction. We were ordered immediately to the battle field. The fire was tremendous. Our brigade when inactive laid down. The balls were whistling over us. We attacked the enemy on their right flank and made a complete rout. Beauregard said the "Maryland Brigade", as he called it, "arrived in the nick of time and saved the day". The enemy retired precipitately. Marching about on the battle field fatigued us a good deal (Note 4). We were then bivouacked about 2 miles on the other side of the Junction. Rained in the night a little but George and I were protected by a blanket which I took from the field.

July 22. Rained incessantly. We had no shelter except some arbors covered with oak which the South Carolinians had left. Wringing wet all day, and up nearly all night.





July 23. Before day marched for Fairfax Court House. The mud was terrible. Before this, the dust had been about 4 inches deep. The distance marched about 15 or 16 miles. When on the battle field men were picking blackberries. At one time the enemy were firing at us from a distance of not more than 30 or 40 yds., but we were mutually hidden by a thick pine.

Since the battle, we have literally been living on the enemies' provisions, which were much better than any we ever had. Just before we were living on little or nothing.

All along the route the road was strewn with things thrown away. A great many wagons were left behind, some filled with ammunition, showing their haste and panic fear. While at F. C. H. picketed three times, making 36 miles.

Aug. 12. Monday, moved camp to Fairfax Station. About 3 miles from F. C. H. Quite muddy. Rained heavily while marching, bad weather all day and night.

Pitched tents in open field about a 1/4 mile from water. 141 miles

Aug. 21. Cleared up last night for the first time since we arrived at this camp. Mike Robinson's Co. came in last night to join our regiment. Appeared to be a fine company numbering 75. (Note 5).

Aug. 26. Monday evening, ordered to march. Twice before we had marched out about 2 miles, rested and returned; but this time there was no false alarm.

We went to Mason's Hill, about 2 miles from Anandale, and 11 from this camp. We arrived a few moments before dawn. Several of our companies were ordered to Munson's Hill, which was held by the Yankees. Part of Longstreet's brigade was there also. The hill an important one was taken.

Hugh Mitchell was wounded in the heel, but not very seriously. Our company was kept back as a guard for Mason's Hill. This name was given to the hill on which stands the residence of Sen. Mason's brother. It is a very pretty place, from which Washington and Alexandria are visible.

I there had a view of the Potomac and of the Md. banks. This was a pleasure, but I longed to set foot on them. I was not on Munson's Hill, but I understand it overlooks the streets of Washington.

Aug. 28. We came back to camp, being relieved by a part of our brigade.

Sept. 1. Sunday. On picket at Burke's Sta. 14 miles from Alexandria, and about 3 from here.





Had quite a pleasant time, not much to do, and a fine place to stay. Mr. Marshall's house at the Station is surrounded by oaks and a very pleasant yard. I enjoyed the shade very much as also the green grass. He served meals to us at 25 cts. which were real treats to us. How time flies!

I have been in Virginia upwards of three months. I expected to be in Md. ere this, yet the time has seemed short but how glad I will feel when once I step on Md. soil and once more grasp the hands of those I love. God grant I may be spared to do it.

I think the chances are, that we shall move forward soon, but further will not venture an opinion even to myself. I am not tired of this life, and rather enjoy it, but do not enjoy not seeing my friends and relatives. I often think of one and all, and wonder if they think often of me. I have not had a letter for some time, but this may not be their fault. Well! I can only hope, and do my duty here.

Sept. 11. Wednesday. Reveille sounded much before light. We were ordered to prepare to march.

Arrived that evening at Falls Church. Marched toward Lunenburg, about 1/2 mile and halted.

An attack had been made, and we were to act as a reserve. Raining considerably. After a short time, our troops returned successful. Had taken a lieut. and one or two privates. We had two pieces of artillery, the enemy had eight. *181 miles*

Sept. 12. Ordered to Upton's Hill about 1 m. from Falls Church, to relieve the 10th Va.

Upton, I understand went to Congress as Union candidate on 14 votes. We quartered in his house.

Sept. 13. A slight skirmish. Took Hall's Hill and two others. 4 prisoners. No loss on our side. Our Co. was occupied flanking one of the pieces. As the Yankees do not now charge batteries, we did not fire, nor charge.

Burned 2 or 3 houses.

Sept. 19. Thursday, about 10 P. M. arrived in camp. Geo. (my brother) still at the 4 mile Tavern. He was left there, on our last return, to recruit after a spell of bilious. Doing very well. *199 miles*

Sept. 20. Went to Burke Station to bathe. Had a fine wash and ate a very good dinner.

Sept. 27. Geo. came to camp.

Not improving, on the 29th Geo. obtained a furlough and went to Charlottesville.





Sept. 30. Ordered to report at Fairfax C. H. with 5 days' rations. Having reported without provisions we were sent to Accotinck Creek, on the "Braddock Road". Out on picket, &c.

186 m.

(NOTE: Page 23 Line 13 "While . . . 36 miles". This was entered in a note in diary but seems to have been left out in the computation, so to avoid trouble I go back to the diary headings and will not add this 36 miles.)

Oct. 15. Have been under marching orders for some time. I went to the Station with Ned. He was sent to the hospital at Manassas. I returned about 11 P. M. Found all the tents struck. We had orders to burn all we could not carry.

Oct. 16. About 3 1/2 or 4 A. M. started. Our Col. even did not know where we were going. Finally came to Centerville on the Little River Pike and encamped about 1 mile S. W. of the village.

Oct. 17. Some of the troops between us and the village are striking tents. Report says the Yankees are advancing. The one apparently confirms the other, but I know not the truth. No truth in it.

194 m.

Nov. 10. Marched at 7 A. M. to within 3 miles of Pohick Church. By our route I think it was at least 20 miles. We had no breakfast, dinner nor supper. We were eating raw turnips, raw cabbage, raw turnip-tops, in fact anything we could lay hands on. We had meat for the night, but it was stolen.

Nov. 11. We returned to camp by a route of 15 miles. Nothing to eat until we arrived at camp about 3.40 P. M. I with a few others left ranks pretty early and got breakfast at Mr. Hollins'. (?) When he heard we were from Md. he wished to give us back the money but we would not take it. I can not account for our march. Rumor says it was to cut off some Yankees but they ran too soon.

229 miles

Nov. 14. Went on picket about 3 1/2 m. from Centerville, midway between the Warrington and Little River Pikes. Rained part of the time, then cleared up with a cutting northwester. Very short of provisions. Obtained meals at various places.

231 1/2 miles

Nov. 18. Monday morning, started off with 6 others to get breakfast at Ross', about 2 1/2 or 3 miles from reserve. Drank some whiskey there better, I think, than any I had seen before in Va. Had a very plentiful meal and enjoyed it. On returning to the reserve found our relief there. Started soon after for camp.

Dec. 18. Paid off for 2 months, viz., Sept. and Oct.

Dec. 19. (Thursday) We struck tents and moved camp to about 2 1/2 m. from Manassas on the Alex. & Orange R. R.

Dec. 24. Commenced building winter quarters about 1/8 of a mile north of our camp.





Dec. 25. Xmas. To me very dull. Nothing to do. No friends to see and no merry-making. The only difference from other days was more men were drunk. Nearly all the camp was in that condition.

Dec. 26. Went on picket at Ox Road Hill No. 6 our old picket station about 9 miles from camp. Went to Ross' three times for meals and was <sup>250</sup> well satisfied.

Dec. 28. Went over and was fired at by our pickets, but kept on. (Ross' being outside the line).

Dec. 29. Picket relieved.

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Friday, Jany. 24th. Had orders to strike all tents and move to winter quarters "Camp. Md." Moved into our home. It was not finished. However, during the day, we succeeded in chinking and daubing nearly three sides, building the chimney and spreading tents over instead of a roof. It commenced raining early in the evening. The impromptu roof leaked, but still it was quite comfortable. The chimney not being daubed smoked when the wind puffed, but drew well generally.

Feb. 3. Started on picket down the railroad.

Snow commenced falling about 4 hours before we started. Snowed all day and part of the night.

Our company was on outpost and had two rooms for quarters. Took most of my meals at an Irishman's. His "Old Woman" was very kind-hearted and gave us provisions in profusion, coffee in large bowls. Thursday it commenced raining while I was on guard.

Feb. 6. About 12 M. we started for camp.

*267 miles*

Feb. 8. I enlisted for two years or the war.

Feb. 9. Sunday. With about 100 of our regiment, I arrived in Richmond on furlough. Stopped at Blacklock's "Monument House". (Note 6). Met Mr. Hagerty of Texas. He gave me an account of his part of the country, and of stock raising. Liked it very much.

While in town, met Gen. Loring and Col. Jenifer.

Feb. 12. Started with Capt. Joe Forrest, and seven others, carrying 33 horses. Took a road a little out of our way. After proceeding about 3 1/2 miles we concluded to try driving the horses, instead of leading them. We first turned them loose near a "Meeting house". They scattered around it, and were quite playful, giving us a good deal of trouble to start them. We had not driven them more than 1/2 mile, when our road turned off short to the left. Owing to mismanagement they could not be turned in and scattered themselves through the woods and down the straight road. After collecting 15, I and a Mr. Everet were sent through the wood in search of others.





We found 8 at Mrs. Vaughn's, where the servants had tied them up. We went in as it was late, introduced ourselves and asked for supper.

Mr. Vaughn was absent, but Mrs. V. very cordially granted our request. We supped with a family consisting of Mrs. Vaughn and two daughters. She desired us to spend the night. I was sorry I could not. After supper, we bridled up, and went to Mr. Adam's, the rendezvous for the night. Slept in a feather-bed and caught a bad cold. This is the fourth night I have slept in a bed. Every morning I woke up with a bad cold in the head, it generally wore off during the day. (Note 7).

Feb. 13. Found we had all the horses except one; could not get him.

Took dinner at the "old Church", a small village, which takes its name from an old plank building, now nearly fallen to pieces. After dinner, we started for Aylett's where we arrived about 8 P. M.

Quite a considerable village. On this road we crossed Pomonky.

Feb. 14. Left pretty early, crossed the Mattaponi and reached Tappahannock about 1 P. M.

This seems quite a nice little town on the Rappahannock, 60 miles from Richmond.

Feb. 15. Crossed 5 horses over the ferry. The boat used is about 35 feet long, with about 9 foot beam. The horses have to be jumped into it.

Feb. 16. Sunday. Expect to cross three or four loads. Crossed all the horses, taking 8 at one load.

Feb. 17. Went over in the rain, expecting to go on to Warsaw (6 miles). As it came on to rain pretty heavily we built a fire in one of the rooms at the ferry-house, dried ourselves and smoked a pipe.

When the rain held up we started for Warsaw -- 6 miles from the ferry. We reached it about 2 3/4 P. M., fed our horses and proceeded to dinner. Concluded to stay all night. Warsaw is the county town of Richmond county.

Feb. 18. Left about 9 A. M. and reached Heathsville about 1 1/2 P. M., 20 miles from Tappahannock and 80 from Richmond. Bad weather for the last three days, trees all coated with ice. In the evening commenced singing, with some of Forrest's men, one of whom, Carberry, was with Richard. After singing some time, I, in joke, proposed a serenade. C. took it immediately, and out we went. Serenaded several, who seemed to enjoy it. "My Maryland" was the song.

Feb. 20. Went to the Hague on business for Capt. Forrest, my own desire being to see Miss N. N. Stayed at her mother's all night.





Feb. 21. Returned to Heathsville, with Mr. Taliaferro and Dr. Brooks, having spent a very pleasant time.

Feb. 23. Dr. B. had the horses brought out. Mr. T. kindly offered me his. B. and I started for a ride and concluded to go to Col. Claybrook's. We dined there and at his invitation stayed all night. Liked his sentiments very much and enjoyed myself in a quiet way.

Feb. 24. Returned to Heathsville. Capt. Forest sent us (Tom Blackiston, Perry and I) to the Quarter Master saying that we could draw for the service rendered him. Each drew \$10.50 for our 7 days' assistance. In the evening went out with Dr. Smith to his place. Spent a very pleasant time.

March 3. Drove up to Heathsville with Dr. Smith and Tom to meet the conveyance we had engaged to take us to Mrs. Nelson's. We arrived there about 3 P. M. The charge was \$10 for both.

March 4. Spent this evening at Mr. Brown's. Met Miss Ellen Griffith.

March 5. Spent the day at Dr. Tyler's.

March 6. At the "Glebe", Mr. Chandler's.

March 8. In the evening called on Miss E. Griffith, for the length of which visit I had to apologize the next day.

March 9. To Nomini Church.

March 10. Drove to Nomini Ferry with Miss N. and her aunt, Miss C., expecting to go to Westmoreland C. H., but the wind was too high so we returned.

March 11. Started about daylight for Carter's wharf which we reached about 10 1/2 A. M. On the way passed through Montross (W. C. H.) The "Virginia" arrived about 4 1/2 P. M., having been detained at the Union Wharf on account of the number of soldiers coming up. Left the wharf about 5 1/2 P. M. Reached Fredericksburg about 1 1/2 A. M. Found that all the houses were crowded, there being 30,000 men from Evansport, Occoquan, Dumfries, &c. So bivouaced on deck until morning.

March 12. Went up town. Could get in no hotel or boarding house, so went to the "Shakspeare" to get breakfast. Started for Richmond 11 1/2 A. M. and arrived about 2 1/2 P. M.

March 13 and 14. Heard the fact that we had evacuated Manassas. Many rumors concerning our regiment. It was on picket when the troops fell back. Co. F had a skirmish which resulted in a small loss. The latest rumor (3 P. M. 14th) is that "H" and "F" had not returned to the regiment. Hence fears concerning their safety. Also a rumor that Colonel Johnston had arrived at Fredericksburg with the companies supposed to be "H" and "F". True report is that 13 of Co. F missing, among them J. H. Stewart. (Note 8).





March 15. Asst. Pro. Marshal's Office. Was with Capt. G. W. Alexander and aiding him in the office.

March 21. Undertook the regular duties of Adjutant of this post, without rank or additional pay.

April 2. Worked all day and spent the evening at Mrs. Hill's. At tea found a very nice Bible on my plate, a birthday present from Miss Bettie.

April 4. Could not get my desire accomplished. Having been ordered to rejoin my regiment I entered the cars at 7 1/4 A. M. Loath to leave both the office and ladies. Capt. A. seemed very sorry that I had to leave, but an order is the Law.

April 5. Orange C. H. Reached Gordonsville about 12 yesterday. Had to wait for a train. Reached this place 11 1/2 P. M. Went to the Exchange Hotel. Found the ladies were having a dance, but arrived too late to join in. Could get no room, so took my blanket and bunked in the parlor with about 15 others.

April 6. Left Orange C. H. abt. 6 1/2 P. M. Reached Culpepper C. H. about 8.10 P. M. and concluded to stay all night.

April 7. Left C. C. H. about 12 1/2 P. M. and reached camp about 2 P. M. Found the regiment under arms, as there was a report that the enemy were crossing the Rappahannock which is about 2 miles from camp. It was raining, and as the rumor was false we pitched tents. Rained all day.

April 8 and 9. Raining, hailing and snowing all the time. Very unpleasant to all, but especially to me just from civilized life and the pleasure of ladies' company. Had to do as others did and lie abed all the time to keep warm, my thoughts, of course, rolling back to the times of pleasure and affectionate social intercourse.

April 12. Not allowed to put up tents, ordered to carry them to the car, and put all spare utensils in the car, for what reason no one knows. Pretty considerable frost during the night.

April 13. Raining in the evening and we were ordered to pitch tents.

April 17. The "10th Va." left to join Jackson. Only 1st Md. and 13th Va. now in this Brigade. Col. G. (Gibbons of 10th Va.) said his men would go to the Valley.

April 18. "Fell in" about 5 1/2 P. M. Came on to rain very hard, also hailed. Stood in ranks and took it coolly, singing and hurrahing. About 6 1/2 started for unknown destination. 2.10 A. M. bivouaced on Dr. Taliaferro's farm about 3/4 of a mile E. of Culpepper. The march was very tedious and slow, being on the railroad and very muddy. (Note 9.)





April 19. During the morning marched to Stone House Mountain, 4 miles from C. C. H. on the Newmarket pike. I, with others, then went to look for dinner, knowing that provisions were very scarce. Eat at Mr. Apperson's about 2 m. from the Mountain. On returning found the regiment had left, so started for C. C. H., our orders <sup>280 miles</sup> being changed. Stopped at the Virginia House not knowing positively where the regiment was.

April 20. Left the C. H. for the Rapidan, whither our regiment had gone. Had to march, there being no train. Been cloudy and raining ever since we left camp. I have not been dry since. After going 6 miles was taken aboard a train which had to stop for all soldiers along the road. Found when at Rapidan that the troops had been ordered to Gordonsville. Saw our regiment just before we arrived at Orange C. H. but concluded with others to go on. Arrived at Gordonsville. Could get no lodgings. Jim Grogan and I went out of the village to Dr. Beall's where we slept on the floor in our blankets. Dried myself here and got a boy to wash my feet and give us a cup of coffee. Enjoyed both very much. First time I have had a boy to wash my feet since I left home.

April 21. Still raining. Will get breakfast here. Breakfasted and then went to the village to see if the regiment had come. Had not, so returned to Dr. Beall's. Was invited into the other room, in which we found a young lady, a cousin of Mrs. Beall's. Staid until after dinner, and then went in search of the regiment which had come. Found it in a piece of woods. Still raining but we had a few tents.

April 22. Not much rain during the night. Heavy shower in the morning. Towards night received orders to cook 4 days' rations. Heavy cloud in the evening with wind but no rain.

April 23. Reveille at 4 A. M. Left bivouac at 7. Left Gordonsville about 8 A. M. and marched 7 1/4 m. on the Madison C. H. pike and <sup>243 miles</sup> halted in a woods to the left about 11 1/4 A. M. near Somerset (about 4 houses).

April 24. Raining, commenced with snow. Made a bunk with blanket and india rubber but did not trench it, hence, though the rain did not reach me, the water from above running down the slope did. I fell asleep and awoke to feel the water running in a stream from my head to my heels. Geo. pretty much the same. I laid as long as possible on the right side, but finding one side wet and one dry was not comfortable, also being tired of lying on the same side I turned and soon the same operation commenced on that side. A continual stream kept up running through my clothes until morning, when I was called for guard. I then wrung out my drawers and put on my pants, feeling anything but comfortable. Made a different bunk and ditched it.

April 25. Raining.

April 26. Slept pretty comfortably last night. Breakfasted very heartily about 10 A. M. on meat, pea soup, peas, biscuit and molasses. In the evening, with Ned, went to Mr. E. Goss's, a large, fine house





on a hill to the south. Enjoyed a very good, substantial, plentiful supper, the table more profusely laden than I have elsewhere seen. Several very pretty little children at the house.

April 27. Aroused pretty early, expecting to leave at daylight. Left the bivouac about 7 A. M. Marched about 9 miles, and halted for about 1 1/2 hours. Then marched about 1 mile to the west of <sup>309 miles</sup> Stanardsville on the Harrisonburg pike, making in all about 16 miles. We bivouaced about 6 1/4 P. M. Tom Blackiston and I went a mile and a quarter up the pike. Had sour kroust for supper and what we bought we paid "two and threepence" apiece.

April 28. Reveille a little before sunrise. Cooked breakfast and some biscuits for the day's march, and did not march. Went foraging. Nearly all the families had left home to see the troops pass, no larger force than five or six hundred ever having gone up this pike.

April 29. All the twelve month volunteers were ordered to elect officers. Col. Johnson said the conscript law applied to us, and if we failed to elect, officers would be appointed. We did not believe the law applied. All the 12 month companies unanimously refused to vote. Since then the Secretary of War has expressly said, "That Marylanders were legally exempt from the law". Johnson went so far as to ask the officers if they would serve if appointed. They all answered, "Not without the full consent of their men. (Entry of April 29th appears in Diary between May 4th -- 15th).

April 30. Again received marching orders. Left about 1 3/4 P. M. Crossed the mountains and bivouaced at the foot near Conrad; I suppose about 9 1/2 P. M. In descending we took a by-road which cut off one mile, making our march 15 miles. The road was very firm and beautifully graded. The engineer certainly deserves credit. It was raining below, but as we ascended we left the rain and entered the cloud itself. When we again got in the valley we had rain.

May 1. Had a fine bath in one of the mountain streams; a tributary of the Shenandoah. All these streams are very clear and swift. I love to listen to them flowing over their rocky beds and watch the many changing eddies. Our "flies" were brought up. Hereafter we expect to use these instead of tents, being more comfortable in summer and more easily transported.

May 4. Companies H and A went on a brigade foraging expedition. No excitement. The march, about 13 miles.

May 15. Left camp 8 1/2 A. M. Marched 16 miles down the river near Columbia bridge. Encamped about 1 1/2 miles south of it. On the road passed the Shenandoah Iron Works. Crossed Naked Creek 6 miles from old camp. The greater part of the road lay along the river. <sup>399 miles</sup> Raining all the time, mud deep, stiff and slippery. Honeytown a short distance from us.

334 miles + 36 (from Aug. 12th) = 370.  
See note page 25





(16)

May 17. Co. "C" mustered out. Left camp about 7 1/2 A. M., went to the bridge and turned down the Blue Ridge pike towards Harrisonburg and Gordonsville. After marching about 4 miles stopped in an apple orchard just by Mt. Hope Inn. Somehow it leaked out that there was brandy in one of the outhouses. There was a general rush. We found some vinegar and very hard cider. Emptied a large and small barrel. Afterwards some found a barrel of liquor which was soon emptied. I got some of the last, a good deal of both was spilled. In the evening again marched, forded a run knee-deep  $4\frac{1}{2}$  m. and reached the summit of the Blue Ridge about dark. The march from camp was 13 1/2 miles.

(17)

May 18. On the summit all day. The sides of the mountain here are quite steep. Just where we are bivouaced there is a small plateau. Some peaks beautifully conical. Very rocky.

May 18. Sunday. Went down the mountain and returned to Columbia bridge. Encamped about 1/2 mile beyond it, on the river.

May 19. Marched 6 miles towards New Market.

May 21. Marched up the mountain 1 1/2 miles and immediately counter-marched and took the Luray road. Halted 2 miles from it. In all about 9 miles. (Note 10.)

Late in the evening Tom Blackiston, Web Sothoron and I went across the river (2 miles) to forage. Had very nice clabber. Met a Miss Rufner and stayed till after 9 P. M.; wished us to stay all  $4\frac{1}{2}$  m. night.

May 22. Left camp about 6 1/2 A. M. Passed through Luray and marched towards Front Royal. Encamped near a stream about 9 1/2 miles from Luray, the march being 11 1/2 miles. A heavy shower fell towards the end of the march, converting the dust, which had been almost insupportable, into slippery mud. After breaking ranks T. B. and I went foraging to Mr. Keyser's. Entertained very hospitably.  $4\frac{1}{2}$  m. Met Mrs. K. Would receive no pay. Mrs. K. filled my haversack with biscuit. Before supper Mr. K. set out whiskey and honey. First "Kawhaky" I have seen for some time. Being wet I enjoyed it very much. Invited to come again.

May 23. Today ordered to put knapsacks in the wagon. Jackson marches his men light in order to make long and quick marches. Marched 13 1/2 miles without a rest, and all stoppages did not amount to 20 minutes. Attacked the enemy's picket, about 2 miles from Front Royal, double quicked to within 1/4 mile of town (Note 11) and took the run, chasing them through town at a great rate, the ladies cheering us on. (Note 12). Our regiment had the honor of the advance, and of driving them out. A Cav. Co. was with us, the 6th and 7th  $4\frac{1}{2}$  m. Ia. followed us. From our bivouac to town is 15 1/2 miles. The men were almost worn out. To my regret I was forced to stop before I got through town. I had given out. (Note 13). I was very kindly taken care of by the ladies at Mr. Petty's, Mrs. P., Misses Helen, Lotty and little Emma. I staid there all night.





May 24. Today I will try to go on, but am not fit to walk. Went to the regiment (on the way saw Clark's Company. Pleasant meeting). Found it guarding about three or four hundred prisoners of the <sup>487 m.</sup> Yankee First Md. Marched them to town and Capt. Murray was detailed to go with them to Richmond. Marched out, and again ordered to take the advance. Marched about 20 miles and halted 7 1/2 miles from Winchester.

May 25. Sunday. Started about 1 1/2 A. M. for Winchester. Skirmishing commenced about 1/2 hour after sunrise. "H" thrown out.

At present being behind a fence in a yard of brick house. Pretty considerable cannonading and every few minutes two or three reports of small arms. Presently, severe musketry -- heavy cannonading -- they run --

We double quick into Winchester. Stop and take possession of stores. March 4 miles out.

May 26. Marched to Bunker Hill, 12 miles from Winchester. Awaiting orders in lot to the east of Bunker Hill.

May 27. To Darksville, 15 miles from Winchester. A little before sunset, fell in. Marched 6 miles. (One mile from Martinsburg). Bivouaced in a field to west of road. I was sent, on guard, to town (Martinsburg).

May 28. Enemy reported to be five miles from town. Marched 3 miles on the Williamsport road. No enemy. Returned and camped in field to east of road. "H" sent to town as Provost guard.

May 29. Ordered up about 3 A. M. Went to camp. Left about 6 1/2 and marched down the Harper's Ferry road to the Winchester and <sup>538 m.</sup> Smithfield pike, up that to a road leading to Charlestown. Encamped about 2 1/2 miles from town at Running Springs Mills. Our day's march about 20 miles.

May 30. Marched about 7 miles. Were within 1 1/2 miles of Harper's Ferry. Halted on the hill this side of Bolivar Heights. Some skirmishing. Principally an artillery duel. Yanks fired well. Shell bursting and whizzing all around us. Hot times. A number were in a house in the woods, a shell struck it, and they skedaddled. Johnston and Goldsborough, with five or six men, went to Bolivar Heights. Before this Geo. was sent to the foot of the hill, with skirmishers. After, Companies "H" and "D" were sent, and as skirmishers took possession of the Heights. Five cavalymen fired at us from the Maryland Heights. We must have come pretty close to them, for being at first close together, pretty soon they scattered and sought shelter, still firing. They then shelled us. Having no intention of holding the hill, we retired. Just below the hill they had left two camps with tents standing. Returned to our old bivouacing ground. Rain all day and the marching back very bad. I stopped a mile from camp and slept in a kitchen. One batteryman wounded by minie ball.





May 31. Left camp at 8 A. M. Passed through Charlestown as rearguard. On the 29th every one seemed rejoiced. Now, many ladies were in tears and the men serious. Before we came the Yankees had treated the citizens shamefully, even to striking some ladies with their sabres. The contrast between Martinsburg and Charlestown is truly great. In the one, sorrow at our approach. In the other, tears at our departure. In Smithsfield it was the same. We marched 2 miles beyond Winchester (28 from our camp) on the Strausberg pike. T. and I then stopped and slept in a passage.

June 1. Started about 4 1/2 A. M. Stopped about 1/2 mile further on for breakfast. Found the regiment had marched two miles further than we, making 30 miles. We caught the regiment at the bridge 2 1/2 miles from Strausburg. Heard considerable firing (Millroy <sup>596 m.</sup> or Freemont). They retired. When about 4 miles from the bridge, was told the enemy were closing in on our left. We hurried ahead. I think most of the stragglers got in. Some of ours are missing but may be in town. Now resting in front of brick house in E. part of Strausburg.

June 2. Marched 7 miles beyond Strausburg. Now ahead of the regiment awaiting its approach in the National Hotel in Woodstock. The enemy attacked our rear. Our cavalry behaved shamefully. Joined the regiment. Col. Johnson blocked the street, by wheeling, to prevent the cavalry from having the rear. Marched on. Commenced raining heavily. Ned and I stopped in a house on left. Went a mile further and stopped for the night at Mr. Ripley's, fell in with a 9th La.

June 3. Tom came up. All four started ahead. Marched about 2 miles and stopped for breakfast. Passed the regiment unawares. Stopped until it came up. It then formed line of battle. A few shells fired. The bridge over the North Fork of Shenandoah being burned, the Yanks could come no further. Took quarters in a large barn about one mile short of New Market.

June 4. Raining as usual. Marched 5 miles past New Market.

June 5. Two miles past Harrisonburg.

June 6. Left camp for Port Republic. About 4 miles from Harrisonburg our cavalry charged their advance and took forty odd. Our brigade then advanced, expecting to take them by surprise. (Note 14). They were on the look-out and had three regiments and a battalion (the Pennsylvania Bucktail Rifles), one of their crack regiments. They fought well, but when we charged, they ran. We had three regiments and our battalion. Only the 58th Virginia and our battalion were engaged. Our loss (1st Md. Regt.) was heavy, 10 killed and 20 wounded. From our company, 2 killed (Harris and Schley) and 5 wounded. We only had about 200 or 220. Col. Ashby was killed. The firing was terrific, but our little battalion stood manfully and charged with a will. Mike Robertson was killed, also Lieut. Snowden. Mike R., <sup>684 m.</sup> Harris and Schley and some others were buried in the cemetery of





Union Church, Rockingham Co., 5 miles from Port R. Their graves a little to the right of the gate, 8 paces from the rear rank.

June 7. Encamped 1 1/2 miles from Port Republic.

June 8. Went back 2 1/2 miles and fought. Very hot fire. Our regiment lost 23 in wounded, some fatally. We had 3 regiments firing upon us. Went back to camp. (Notes 15 and 16).

June 9. Went 2 miles past P. R. Cooked breakfast. Then to P. R. and three miles past it down the river. In the morning a desperate battle was fought on the ground we passed over. (Note 17). We captured five pieces. Waited until late in the evening to cover the retreat. Marched to top of the ridge through Brown's Gap, 12 miles from P. R.

June 10. To foot of mountain 5 miles. Eat cherries and wild strawberries.

June 12. Returned and encamped about 2 1/2 miles from P. R. and one mile from Weyer's Cave. The march, 14 miles.

June 13. Visited Weyer's Cave. None can help admiring it, though seen under disadvantageous circumstances. The stalactites were all muddy owing to the late rains. We had large crowd and a poor guide; hence I will attempt no description. Left for Staunton.

June 14. Arrived there in the evening. 18 miles. We are here to recruit.

2047662

June 15. Went to church in Staunton. Company "I" mustered out. "H" goes in two days. Capt. Barry joined today with about 35 men. After the 18th the regiment will have only about 70 men. Today 146 m. I dined at Mrs. Forrest's. She lived in the suburbs on very pretty grounds. We expected to pay, of course, but we were invited to dine with the family and they would receive nothing. I had on a pair of shoes which were about equal to none, most of my right foot was out of the shoe. I was amused at Miss F., who, noticing my bare toe showing, could scarcely refrain from laughing. We were invited to call.

June 19. Company "H" mustered out. With the regiment they started by rail for Charlottesville at 12 M. Reached there about 6 1/2 P. M. (Note 18).

June 20. Left about 9 P. M. in cars. Landed at Frederick Hall Station 6 1/2 A. M. June 21st.

June 23. Left about sunset and reached Beaver Dam Sta. late at night, 15 miles. Rained very hard. March awful. Only four men got into camp with the Col.

June 24. Marched about 18 miles.

June 25. Reached the Fair Grounds of Ashland, 15 miles.



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June 26. Marched about 15 miles. Were then in rear of the enemy and about 8 miles from Richmond. Had some sharp skirmishing and obtained the position we wished.

June 27. Advanced. Marched a great deal, probably 20 miles and finally came nearly to the left of their right wing where I think they had concentrated for they had been forced to retire from above.

Severe fighting. The musketry was more severe and continuous than I ever heard. Manassas and Cross Keys could not compare. Drove the Yanks back, took their position and occupied the field.

June 28. From present appearances I think it was a bloody battle. Marched about 10 miles and crossed the York River R. R. taking possession, thus cutting off their supplies. Their pickets within musket range. Now and then a shot. Shelled them, they replied. At night marched 2 miles back and returned.

June 29. The whole camp astonished by the sound of cars approaching rapidly from towards Richmond and the enemy. Just as the train came on the bridge, 1/4 mile from us, there was a grand explosion that shook the earth, then there were continued explosions until the next morning. Marched about 5 miles and bivouaced. Raining in torrents, but did not last long.

June 30. Continued the march, 8 miles took us around the swamp and over the Yankee road to the Y. R. R. about 7 miles from Richmond. Crossed the road and went about 3 miles.

July 1. Marched 6 miles and slept on the battlefield.

July 3. Five miles.

July 4. About 10 miles. Skirmishing.

July 5. Relieved and fell back 1 1/2 miles.

July 7. Moved camp 1 mile (on R?) road. Now about 25 miles from Richmond.

July 8. Late in the evening drew in our pickets and marched 6 miles.

July 9. Marched 5 miles and halted for breakfast and to cook. Marched 6 miles further.

July 10. Marched about 10 miles to Mechanicsville. Webb Sothoron 880 m. and I left the regiment as we passed Richmond and went into the city.

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END OF FIRST BOOK OF DIARY

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(880 miles is on Diary page. The 20 miles, June 27, was left out in computing).

Up to date marched 880 miles. To April 18, 1862, had marched 267 miles including the march in Clarke county, not taking note of the retreat from Manassas to the Rappahannock. To June 23, 731 miles.

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SECOND BOOK

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1862

July 13. Went from Richmond to camp which is near the V. C. R. R. about 3 1/2 miles out.

July 17. Left by the Danville road for Lynchburg about 10 A. M. Arrived about 8 P. M.

July 18. Arrived in Charlottesville where we are ordered to recruit. Quartered in the C. H.

July 20. Encamped about 3/4 mile to N. E. of town.

August 1. By order of Col. Johnson left for Richmond to report to Capt. Murray.

August 2. Pitched tents in New Fair Grounds. 12 men out here. Many more have promised but have not yet reported.

August 16. Left Camp Lee and pitched tents, 1/4 mile N. W. by W. of Camp Winder, a nice strip of woods back of us. Geo. Gill came out just as we were arriving.

August 22. Enlisted 3rd time and mustered in August 27, '62. (Note 19).

Sept. 7. Received news that the army had crossed the Potomac. Great cheering and all in high spirits. But we could not help deploring our not being with them and in the advance. Our Company and Crane's the only ones mustered in.

Sept. 11. Our Co. and Crane's marched to the depot, but were disappointed in getting off.

Sept. 12. Reached Charlottesville and found Genl. Stewart had left.

Sept. 13. Genl. Stewart decided that Capt. Murray ranked Crane. (Note 20). Very hospitably treated by the ladies of Charlottesville. Send out peaches and apples to us.





Sept. 16. Reached Gordonsville.

Sept. 17. Reached Culpepper Court House.

Sept. 21. Left camp at 8 3/4 A. M. 1 P. M. halted for long rest having marched 9 1/2 miles. Men generally seem to stand it well. Marched 15 miles. (14 1/2 fr. C. H.). Halted near Woodville. Foraging met quite a pretty girl.

15 m in New Co. (A)  
895 m.

Sept. 22. Started about 5 3/4 A. M. At Woodville took the short cut to Little Washington. As usual with "short cuts" we had trouble with the road. I doubt whether we will make anything in time. About 5 miles from Woodville we passed Maj. Green's. The ladies sent out milk, bread and a pitcher of ice water. At other places, like hospitality. Halted at Little Washington about 12 1/2 P. M. By our route, 8 miles, by pike, 11 miles from Woodville. Met two quite interesting girls. In the evening reached Flint Hill, 6 miles (by pike 10 m.)

Sept. 23. Reached Front Royal about 12 M. 13 miles. I went to Rev. Mr. Petty's where I stopped when I gave out, charging last summer. I was received very hospitably by the whole family (Misses Ellen, Sallie and Emma). In the evening made 4 1/4 miles. Supped at Mr. McKay's. Met the prettiest girl I have yet seen here.

Sept. 24. Reached Winchester, 14 3/4 miles and bivouaced on our old ground, "Camp Md."

Sept. 28. Joined by Capts. Herbert, Torsch and McAleer.

Sept. 29. Marched in to town, making a fine appearance.

Oct. 26. Spent the evening and night at Mrs. McDonald's. Had a severe headache and was threatened with a spell of sickness. Very kindly invited by the ladies to remain there or at Mrs. G.'s while unfit for duty.

61 m  
941 m

Oct. 29. As the young ladies intended visiting Mrs. G.'s for a few days I went there with them. My time was spent most pleasantly. "McGregor's Gathering", "Lorena", "Jane O'Malley", "Silence", "See our Oars", "Good Night", "Rocked in the Cradle of the Deep".

Nov. 7. First snow of the season, about an inch deep.

Dec. 2. Marched 1 mile on the Berryville road. At 8 P. M. left and marched to within 2 miles of Strasburg, making 18 miles in all. I felt sorry and could not help feeling ashamed, giving up Winchester again to the Yankees. Passing through, I stopped at Mrs. G.'s to bid the ladies goodbye. They seemed to feel it so much, that it added to my sadness. I earnestly hope we may soon return to hold it.

79 m  
859

Dec. 5. Much to my delight we received orders to return. Left camp about 9 1/2 A. M. and arrived in Winchester about 4 P. M. where we were quartered next the C. H. Day's march, 17 miles.





Went to Mrs. G.'s and enjoyed the evening very much listening to the ideas of Miss S. and Miss F. McD. relative to the preceding day, on which the Yanks took possession and left and were succeeded by the Confeds. Our mess succeeded in getting a small room to themselves. We can make ourselves very comfortable here if allowed to do so, but on many accounts I would prefer being in camp. The advantages here are society and reading. I hope to enjoy both very much if allowed to remain. 96 } m  
916 }

Dec. 13. Again ordered to march. We are to proceed on Front Royal road until further orders. This, for a time, puts an end to my enjoyments. I felt almost as though I was again leaving home. The Misses --- and all the family seemed to feel almost as though I were a relative. I most assuredly felt so. But in the vicissitudes of war I hope soon to meet them again.

Started about 10 1/2 A. M. About 6 P. M. bivouaced on north bank of N. Branch of Shenandoah 2 miles from Front Royal. 17 miles.

Dec. 14. About 6 A. M. started on back trail, about 2 miles from N. Branch turned off into a by-road to Middletown on Valley pike, 5 miles from Strasburg. Marched about 2 1/4 miles past Strasburg and turned into the meadow lands to the left. 17 m. 130 } m  
1010 }

Dec. 16. Moved camp to a woods on the left of the Capon Springs road about 1 1/2 miles from Strasburg and 3 miles from camp. Capon Springs is 17 miles from Strasburg.

Dec. 19. Received marching orders. This is the second time our mess has made arrangements for a Xmas dinner and have been disappointed by moving camp. We marched to Strasburg and took two days' rations of hardtack. We then took the Staunton pike and halted about 7 miles from Strasburg. 8 1/2 miles.

Dec. 20. Marched to 38th mile post from Winchester -- 13 miles.

Dec. 21. Left bivouac about 8 1/2 A. M. At Mt. Jackson had bacon given out. At the end of the march enjoyed it very much, eating it raw with hardtack. This in civilized life would sound very strange, but it is nevertheless true. Halted 1 1/2 m. from N. Market, on the Luray road. 12 1/2 miles. Expect to reach Luray tomorrow, but we are moving about so much, with apparently no reason, I am not sure. 167 } m  
1047 }

Dec. 22. Started about 9 A. M. Passed the Massanutten Range on the Sperryville and New Market pike for Luray. Having marched 5 miles (about 1/2 m. from foot) bivouaced, with intention of staying until morning. This change, I believe, is caused by more reports from the cavalry. We are now on the same ground on which we bivouaced on 20th of last May. Received a nice pair of gloves fr. Miss F. McD.

Dec. 23. Returned to our camping ground of the 21st. 5 miles. I can not regret the march over the gap on account of the view. The valleys, on each side, are grand, very varied and beautiful, wanting only a fine river to complete them. 177 } m  
1057 }





About an hour after halting our Company was ordered to town (2 m.) at act as "Provost Guard" in New Market.

Dec. 24. Commenced Xmas by writing to Mother. Then bought some home-made wine. This town is a poor place now. I know no one in it and expect to pass a poor Xmas, but not such as last, God forbid.

Xmas. So far tolerably pleasant. Nothing gay, nor even merry, but at least not unpleasant. Bought some apple-jack and went to camp. The woods is much better than a wayside town, the inhabitants of which I do not know. After being in it a while, as usual, I like it better. But I will be glad to leave.

Dec. 31. Went with a party of fellows, in a stage, to a "watch-meeting" held about 3 miles below N. M. Arriving there three hours too early, some of us determined to go to Mt. Jackson. Not finding the driver, I offered my services as his sub. Had some difficulty getting along until I got a switch. At Mt. J. found some apple-jack which warmed us up. Started back and improvised a whip, so that we were getting along finely, when, approaching us at a long walk, we spied the driver blowing like an engine. I hauled up and he saluted me with, "I handle these horses". I answered good-humoredly and offered the canteen. Soon he was in good humor, laughed at the trick and we went gaily on. At the church he tried to give us the slip several times and at last succeeded. So we had to walk back. The meeting was "Methodist Episcopal". (Note 21). We watched the old year out.

1863

Jan. 1. Watched the New Year in. Such carrying on I never saw. Of religious solemnity I could see none. It was simply a mess, crying, shouting, hallowing and clapping of hands.

Paid a New Year's visit to camp, with some horseradish as a N. Y. gift to Geo.

About 10 1/2 P. M. received orders to join the battalion, in the morning, as it passed through on its way to "Brock's Gap".

Jan. 2. Capt. Goldsborough arrived early with his Company. About 9 1/2 A. M. left town, passed Plains Mills, about 3 miles from N. M., Bowman Mill, 9 miles, and entered the gap, which is 12 miles from New Market. This gap is a division of North Mt. forming a complete break in the chain. The road then winds among the hills lying between the North and Shenandoah Mts. and passes over the latter. A short time after passing N. Mt. we saw a rock jutting from the hill. It was about 80 feet or 100 feet in height, and cleft half way to its base so that it stood in clear relief.

We crossed the North Branch of the S. five or six times. In some places it was amusing to see the men attempting to cross on the ice and breaking in. We halted about 17 miles from N. Market.

196 m  
1076





Jan. 3. Roused at dawn. Left bivouac at five minutes of 7. The road continued along the river, part of the time following its bed (now dry, but often overflowed) to the source. Then we ascended directly to the top of a high spur and then wound around several in making the descent, until we came in the valley where one of the headwaters of the South Fork of the Potomac rises. Halted where the road meets the South Fork. Day's march, I judge, to be 25 miles.

We crossed the S. Branch of the Shenandoah twelve times and six of its tributaries once.

Halted at five minutes of 5 P. M.

7 1/2 P. M. have orders to march in one hour.

9 P. M. started in good spirits, hearing that we were needed at Moorefield. Marched about three miles and forded the S. fork of P. four times, the water being nearly knee deep and cold as ice. But the boys plunged in bravely and with good spirits. At the end of <sup>224 m</sup><sub>1104</sub> the three miles came to a tent and some fires. Some one called out, "General Jones is here". Major Herbert was keeping on, but determined to halt and see Jones. He halted and Jones told him to encamp. We soon tore down a fence and commenced the process of drying. But many curses were heaped upon Jones for the useless march and wetting of tonight.

Jan. 4. March forward about 8 m. and Company ordered on picket about 3 m. further on. Just before halting, the Yanks were reported in front. Sent some cavalry ahead. A few shots fired. Yanks retired.

Jan. 5. 4 1/2 A. M. Left picket post with orders to return to New Market. Arrived at camp, found the battalion had left. We took a mountain path, by which we avoided the fords of the S. Fork of P. I acted as pilot and navigated very well for the first time. Very often the path was scarcely distinguishable. About 12 reached the mill by which we first encamped on the 3rd. Halted and remained about 1 1/2 hours. Recrossed the mountain and halted about two miles from the foot. Day's march about 27 miles.

Jan. 6. Overtook the battalion and marched about 17 miles, about one mile east of the Gap.

<sup>279 m</sup>  
<sub>1159</sub>

Jan. 7. Made New Market. 11 m. Our Company again ordered on Provost duty.

The mountain scenery on this trip was very fine, especially from the top of the Shenandoah range. From there we saw mountains surrounding us, near and far, and over the most distant could see one or two peaks of the Alleghenies. We marched 44 miles in among the mountains and then could not see the end. They run along the stream, just leaving a valley for the rivers from 100 yards to 1/2 a mile in width. This both on the east and west sides of the range.

<sup>290 m</sup>  
<sub>1170</sub>





Jan. 15. Tonight enjoyed a "Stag Dance" very much. Iglehart playing and others swinging around at a great rate. Quite amusing to behold and quite healthy to act.

Jan. 17. Detailed to take charge of a wagon and guard to Staunton and back. Left about 2 P. M. Wagon being light, rode most of the way up. Stopped at Harrisonburg for the night.

Jan. 18. Left about 7 A. M. Passed through Mount Crawford, Pinetown (or Burke Town) and Mt. Sidney. About one mile past Mt. Crawford crossed the North River. About six miles from Staunton crossed the Middle River. Between Mt. C. and Mt. S. the country becomes very rolling and hilly, then more level and higher ground. Near Staunton, pretty hilly. Eight miles from Staunton there is a hollow willow tree out of which a constant stream flows, from a spout about five feet from the ground, known as "Willow Pump". It must be on the artesian principle and is a natural illustration. Reached Staunton about 2 P. M.

Jan. 19. Left about 12 M. Stopped at Mr. Perry's, 19 miles from S. He is from Charles County, Md. I there met Mrs. Allen. It was quite a pleasant accident. I had no idea she was near here. She, of course, did not recognize me, but seemed pleased to see me.

Jan. 20. Reached New Market about 3 P. M. The "Big Spring", sometimes called "Lacy's Spring" is half way between N. M. and Harrisonburg. An immense quantity of water flows from it, but the surface of the main spring is not as great as that of Mr. McDonald's spring at Winchester. That is the largest one I ever saw. It supplies the town, besides having quite a large stream flowing from it.

The Valley of Virginia runs from north-east to southwest and lies between the Blue Ridge and Alleghany Mountains. It is, I think, divided into four by the Massanutten range, the North Mt. and the Shenandoah Mts. The Valley pike runs between the Massanutten and North. This part is principally settled by Dutch descendants. They seem kind-hearted and thriving, live in small houses and have large barns. Almost every house has a large baking oven attached.

Jan. 28. Snowing. Bad weather has commenced. For the last two weeks the weather has been bad, rainy, snowy and cloudy. The battalion went down the pike a day or two since. Today, I hear, they are at Edinburg, attending to the getting of iron and flour. They must be having an uncomfortable time.

Jan. 29. Battalion returned today, rather woebegone looking.

Feb. 4. I have made few acquaintances here, principally because the people are of a class with which I do not find association particularly pleasant. They are kind but neither refined nor educated. Of course there are some exceptions. As a rule, the women, young and old, chew snuff. This in itself is disgusting. They have snuff parties and what our boys call "gum sucking" parties. As I have never attended either, I can give no description.





Feb. 14. The battalion passed through town about 10 A. M. going down the Valley. I was detailed by Capt. Murray to remain behind.

"Rosicrusian". The doctrine first revealed by Michael Meyer in a work entitled "Themis Auria, hoc est de legibus Fraternitatis Rosae Crucis" published in 1615.

Feb. 16. Left town about 9 A. M. with six others. Arrived at camp (16 1/2 m. from N. M.) abt. 2 1/2 P. M. I was rather sorry to leave, for I was just getting acquainted.

306 1/2 m.  
1186 1/2

Feb. 17. We have had rather strange weather lately. Snow one day and spring day next. Yesterday was warm and pleasant. Last night I spread my blankets and slept comfortably until about 3 A. M. Then it commenced raining. About daylight I woke up and found I was covered with snow. All today we have had a fine, wet snow. The usual weather here at this season.

Feb. 18. Cloudy and raining.

Feb. 19. Ditto, a little sunshine.

Feb. 20. Fickle.

Feb. 21. Clear. Evening, cloudy. Commenced snowing 9 P. M.

Feb. 22. Snow.

Feb. 23. Snow about ten inches. Bright sunshine. Bright starlight.

Feb. 24. Opened cloudy, closed finely. Had my ambrotype taken in "Woodstock".

Feb. 25. Clear. Tom and I had our ambrotypes taken together. Also a head on small plate. Day warm, like a late spring day.

Feb. 26. Opened with a drizzling rain. Sun trying to get the better of the clouds. About 12 M. long roll beat. Marched a little beyond Woodstock and halted in woods to left of road. 4 M. Just before sunset left for camp. This move was caused by the Yanks making a dash near Woodstock. They retired, our cavalry following. The result was a rout. Our cavalry took about 225 prisoners, including a Major, Captain and 3 Lieutenants, also near 200 horses. Our loss I do not know, but must be small. It was terribly muddy, but the battalion turned out finely and as quickly as I ever heard of.

Feb. 27. Opened cloudy. Closed clear.

Feb. 28. Opened cloudy and continued so. Another long roll. Left camp about 2 P. M.

Halted just beyond Woodstock, 4 miles in 40 minutes from time long roll beat. Great marching. Heard the enemy had encamped this side of Strasburg, in force. Ordered back to camp to cook two days' rations. March, 8 miles. Rained during the night.

323 m.  
1203





March 1. Reveille about 3 1/2 or 4 A. M. Packed wagons at daylight. Day opened cloudy. About 9 A. M. bright and clear. Real March wind. In the afternoon unpacked wagons. Did not move, owing to the report of the force of the Yankees being false. There were really only a few cavalry.

March 2. Clear. During the night, rained, turned cold and cleared.

March 3. Clear. About 11 1/2 A. M. commenced snowing very heavily. Lasted about two hours. Then the sun came out, the wind continuing.

March 5. About 12 M. ordered to pack wagons. Marched down the pike about 3/4 of a mile and stacked arms. In about two hours ordered back to camp. I suppose there was a false report.

March 18. Reveille 2 1/2 A. M. Ordered to cook all rations issued. About 8 left camp and marched 1 1/2 miles up. Received orders countermanding last. Returned and moved camp. Now about 2 1/4 miles from Edinburg.

March 19. 8 A. M. fell in. 1 1/2 P. M. stacked arms about 1 m. short of New Market. 15 1/4 m.

March 20. Remained in camp on account of snow.

March 21. Left 8 1/2 A. M. in a drizzling snow and rain. Marched about 3/4 m. past the Big Spring and turned to the left and encamped in a woods 1/4 m. from pike. Snow 10 in. deep. We soon cleared a small space and built a fire. I then enjoyed a dinner of hardtack and raw bacon. What would home folks say? (Note 22). I consider the latter quite a luxury now, when on a march. 11 m.

March 22. 6 P. M. The snow has nearly disappeared.

March 24. Another Company (Capt. Raisin's) joined the cavalry battalion.

March 26. Received orders to march by daylight to Edinburg. I believe the object is to get iron, of which there is a good deal near there.

March 27. Left camp about 7 A. M. and at 4 3/4 P. M. went into camp 1 M. short of Edinburg. 23 m.

Not having had much marching lately some felt it a good deal, particularly those who had just received new shoes. Went to Edinburg, looking for water, and there had supper through the influence of one of the fair sex. If I wish to succeed I always make friends with the girls.

March 28. **Last** night about 3 commenced raining and by accident some ran over our india rubber and wet us. About 6 1/2 started for (old?) camp and arrived about 3 1/2 P. M. Raining nearly all the way. It was hard march and all felt it. 23 m.





April 2. Passed my birthday on guard.

April 9. Had an oyster supper but they were not "St. Mary's oysters" by a great deal.

April 11. The last three days have been warm and pleasant, reminding us that the summer campaign is near at hand.

400 m.  
1280 m.

April 12. Went four miles in the country (to sit up with Ned Warring) to Mr. Flukes'. This is the best looking house, outside, that I have seen around here. It is of brick, an unusual circumstance.

April 15. Raining and cold. Packed wagons about 9 A. M. Did not strike tents. 5 P. M. unpacked. Passed an unpleasant day. The tent leaked badly and the water overflowed the ground within.

April 20. Raining. Sent back all heavy baggage except tents.

April 21. Left camp about 9 A. M. Halted at Coot's Stone and bivouaced 1/2 m. from it, in woods. This Stone is near Brock's Gap and about 13 miles from Camp. We came into the N. M. road passing the suspension bridge. March, 13 1/2 m.

April 22. Started about 7 1/2 and continued on same road as former march for 12 m. Took the right hand road and halted about 6 P. M., having crossed the crest dividing the waters of the Shenandoah and Potomac. At this point crest is low. March, 20 1/2 m. Here we followed the Lost River. A very pretty little valley. Nearly all the mess went to a barn for shelter. G. and I laid down with an india rubber over us and slept passably though it rained nearly all night.

434 m.  
1314 m.

April 23. Left about 7. Went to Matthias (2 m.), turned to the left and about 1/2 m. further took left road again. The first right road goes to Mt. Jackson, the second to Winchester. The one we took goes by Howard's Lick, over a high mountain and follows the ridge 3 or 4 m. We took a short cut up, which was quite steep. Coming down took what is called a short cut, but I thought it longer. It was very steep and rough, following a stream.

Got into our old road about 1 m. above our last camp of January. We then forded the river four times (I, five). One was full leg deep, all above the knee. We then took the mountain side to avoid the rest of the river, which was not fordable. The streams were very swift. We had to cross several very steep mountain sides, going up and down.

The cascades were beautiful, and the S. Branch of S. Fork of P. being now high is a very pretty river, with something of the grand. Whole march about 20 m. This brought us about 3 miles from Moorefield.

April 24. Marched to within 1/2 mile of Moorefield. We flanked the river as usual. By mistake we went out of the way. March about 4 m.





The river divides frequently, making several islands, some a mile long. The valley along here (South Branch Valley) is very pretty and has good land.

Our Company and Company B ordered in town. This has been a very pretty town, but has been very much injured by the Yanks. It is decidedly Southern. I enjoyed a dinner at Mr. Gilkeson's. We had <sup>458<sup>m</sup></sup><sub>1358</sub> a fine dinner with dessert, for which they would take no pay. I took supper at Mr. Newman's. They would receive no pay. There was not a private house at which they would take money for meals. The people seem thoroughly Southern.

April 25. Ordered back to camp.

April 26. Moved camp to opposite side of river and southwest of the town, on a hill, the end of a spur. This spur has a valley on either side. Both are beautiful. The people very hospitable. 3m. Today heard of the capture of 83 Yanks. They were taken at Greenland (18 m.). They were in a church and fought well. All were taken or killed except two. Our loss pretty heavy.

April 27. About 6 A. M. moved in direction of Petersburg. After having marched about 4 1/2 m. our Company ordered back, the Yanks reported to be in our rear. Having gone back about 2 m. received orders to continue the march, the report being false. About 8 m. from M. turned to left towards Franklin. About 16 m. from M. struck the F. and P pike. One mile further encamped. The route was about 15 m. Our Company's march, 19 1/2 m. Forded the streams very often.

April 28. About 5 3/4 A. M. moved. Our route for most of the way lay along the river. About 1/2 miles from Franklin halted at 3 1/2 P. M. The river is beautiful, clear and has a greenish tinge which seems to me to distinguish the waters of the Potomac from those of the Shenandoah. Our march 22 m. The houses in the vicinity of Moorefield are fine and large, much better than in most parts of <sup>502 1/2<sup>m</sup></sup><sub>1382 1/2</sub> Virginia that I have visited. Along this road there are few, one or two quite neat.

April 29. Moved towards Franklin. When within 3/4 m. of F. turned to the left. Crossed the S. Fork and followed one of its tributaries. Crossed the crest and followed a tributary of S. Branch of S. Fork, then the S. Br. of S. Fork. When about 15 m. from camp turned to left and took mountain road. Crossed a very high mountain and halted at its foot. March about 25 m. Had to ford very often. While rising the Mt. commenced raining. When at top, poured down and rained heavily until near camp. This morning took breakfast at Mr. Johnson's 1 m. from F.

April 30. Reached our new camp 2 1/2 m. above Harrisonburg. We followed a small stream and then "Dry River" which we had to ford several times, up to the knees. Raining nearly all day. March 23 1/2 m. The 10 days' march about 151 m. <sup>551<sup>m</sup></sup><sub>1431</sub>





The country of the S. Branch valley is very pretty. Several valleys open from it, each watered by a fine stream. The lands fine and well watered, used chiefly for grazing. Some of the farms are quite large with fine buildings. Mr. Williams owns an island, between the "forks" about one mile in length. Several partook of his hospitality which is of the old style. The whole country abounds in the picturesque, especially in the terminating spurs of the Mts.

On the Dry River road there were many highly pleasing sights, often of rock of great height and length covered with moss, with frequent interspersions of flowers and shrubs growing in the crevices.

May 2. Ordered to Richmond with provisions. Reached Staunton at 4 1/2 P. M., having marched 22 1/2 miles. (Note 23).

May 3. Laid over for want of transportation.

May 4. Left at 7 1/4 A. M. Stopped at Charlottesville three hours. Left for Lynchburg. Detained by train ahead being thrown off the track. Reached Lynchburg about 11 P. M.

May 5. Left in south side train at 4 3/4 P. M. During the day invited to Dr. Spencer's room, with others and entertained. Then adjourned to C. H. by invitation of Mr. Grayson and enjoyed similar hospitality.

May 6. Reached Richmond about 4 A. M. and turned over the prisoners safe. I then went in search of the tug in which Richard, (my brother known as "Col. Zarvona") was reported to be coming. I accidentally found a gunboat which had just come up. I went aboard and found Capt. Davidson. Just as I greeted him I looked up and saw Richard.

May 7. Wishing to be a short time with Richard I applied for a few days' leave. Secretary James A. Seddon granted me seven days. Called on the Masons, also on Willy Wilson (at Robt. F. Morris', Madison and Franklin streets) where I met Miss Janie Wilson and Mrs. M. both of whom requested me to remain to dinner, which I did, and enjoyed myself very much.

(R. arrested 8th July, 1861. Sent to Fort Lafayette December 3, 1861, and kept in solitary confinement until 15th April, 1863, and reached Richmond May 6, 1863). (Note 24).

May 13. Spent the night at Dr. Jno. N. Powell's on Brook avenue, 8 miles from Richmond and 1 3/4 miles from pike. Went there with R. and Capt. Mooks. Liked the family very much -- Dr. P., Mrs. P., Miss Blanche P. and Miss Watson.

May 14. Returned to town.

May 15. 6 1/2 A. M. Left in Central train for S. and arrived 6 1/2 P. M. having been detained by a car ahead off the track.



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May 16. Took passage in stage at 6 1/2 A. M. Reached camp about 3 P. M. It had been moved below Harrisonburg about 2 1/2 miles, being 5 miles from old camp. Found that Capt. Goldsborough had been promoted to the majorship.

556 m  
1436

The camp is the prettiest we have had, but water is too far, nearly 1/4 m.

May 25. About 5 A. M. moved down the pike. 11 1/2 reached New Market (15 1/2 m.). Halted 1/2 hour. The people seemed very glad to see us.

About 4 1/2 P. M. bivouaced on the river bank 1 m. above Mt. Jackson. March about 22 m.

May 26. 6 A. M. moved. Halted in Edinburg and Woodstock, an hour each. Bivouaced 1 1/2 m. below W. near the bridge. 15 m.

May 27. Marched down the pike 6 m. and stacked arms on round hill to left of pike. Below, we have quite an extensive view. Went to the top of the hill, which is quite a mountain. Down the valley could see Strasburg and Newtown. I also saw what I supposed to be Winchester. Both up and down the view extends upward of 20 m. On the top is a log pen raised by Banks as an observatory. We had splendid day for marching, cloudy and cool, the sun not coming out until we were in camp.

May 31. 10 1/2 P. M. Companies A and C left camp. Having gone to within 1/4 m. of Strasburg turned to left and flanked the town. Halted on the pike two miles below S. March, about 8 m.

June 1. Picketed with 7 men on hill to S. of picket about 1/2 or 3/4 m. above Cedar Creek bridge. During the day we moved 1/2 m. below the bridge. The enemy not coming up, about 3 P. M. we returned to camp. March, 9 m. On the way back halted in S. Also on the banks of the river to give the men a chance to take a swim.

June 2. Went out to breakfast when I returned to camp, found the Yanks had come up, and the battalion had gone down to meet them. Came up with the battalion at Fisher's Hill. The Yanks had left. Our Company ordered forward. Near the mill halted. Two more companies, "C" and "D" ordered down. Moved into Strasburg. After several hours moved out to the edge of town and threw out pickets. About 12, midnight, "A" and "C" moved down, and at daybreak halted under cover of a stone wall about 11 1/2 m. from Winchester. March, 10 1/2 m.

June 3. Awaiting the enemy, part of the "Md. Bat. of Cavalry" having gone on to try to draw them on. About 9 A. M. finding the Yanks would not come out of W. we were ordered to return to Middletown and await Major G. Moved up 2 m. above M. In the afternoon went to camp which had been moved to the woods below our camp on the Hill. The place on which we took our position below Middlestown, belonged to





Mr. Brinker. Mrs. B. was very kind, giving milk to all who wished it. March, 11 m.

June 4. Jenkins reviewed all the troops of this valley. Evening I was sent on picket at the stone bridge.

June 5. Great many passed through the lines, some from Charlestown. Some also came in on business or pleasure. Among the latter was Miss Davis of Newton whose acquaintance I made at Winchester. She seemed pleased to see me, rough as I am. I was, of course, glad to see any one from that part, her especially, as she is pretty and pleasing. General Jenkins passed out. He is young and goodlooking, wearing long whiskers.

June 10. Left camp at 10 A. M. At Fisher's Hill joined the rest of the command. At Cedar Creek halted and awaited orders. Here, the water being 6 to 8 feet deep, the men enjoyed swimming very much. Staid all night. 6 m.

June 12. Jenkins left for Front Royal to join Ewell who is there with his corps. We are to await Trimble here. About 5 P. M. long roll beat. Marched down the pike and drew up in line of battle, cavalry in front. Some of the cavalry went on and charged some <sup>647 m</sup><sub>527</sub> Yanks who drew them into an ambush of infantry and artillery in Newtown. We then came back, slung knapsacks and fell back about 1/2 m. March, 3 m. Our loss about 30 men and some horses. About 11 P. M. moved 1 m. below Middletown. 6 1/2 m.

June 13. At daybreak again took up our line of march, halting frequently, as we have plenty of time. 9 1/2 A. M. about 4 1/2 m. from Winchester, five or six guns heard. Moved a piece and fired into some cavalry. They skedaddled. At this point General Early came up and found his line of battle. He has with him our old associates, Taylor's Ia. Brigade, now commanded by Hayes.

The ball opened slowly. The enemy seem to be simply feeling. We replied with one or two shots. 11 1/2 A. M. about. Our left is now formed. Our Company, "A", deployed as skirmishes. There is now a perfect lull. Soon they commence again. Forward, is the word. Having advanced about one mile, halted. Skirmishing pretty brisk on our left flank. Shells and minies in great abundance. Retreat 500 or 600 yards. At this time a piece of shell ricocheted and struck me, but did no injury. A brigade sent forward on the left with a battery. Enemy (battery) changed position. Again ordered near our old position. Now musketry heavy, with slow reports of cannon on either side. The enemy seem to be retreating. Fire slackens. 4 or 5 p. m. Enemy retreat to their fortifications and keep up a cannonade. Later a shot at long intervals, all else quiet. Dusk. We relieved by two other companies. Went into bivouac on N. side of road. Soon a heavy rain came pouring down. Edelen had his shawl. Geo. W. Edelen and I laid down on the ground and covered with this. But soon the water came through in streams. Nevertheless we fell asleep and did not wake till morning, when I felt





refreshed. As the rain stopped, bodily heat nearly dried my clothes by daybreak. 8 m.

June 14. Having cooked part of our rations, we move down. Slow firing from the enemy. I do not think we have yet opened. Threw out skirmishers ("A" and others) and advanced to within 1/2 m. of town. Others ahead. Enemy firing from the streets. 1 1/2 P. M. slow firing. The enemy throw a good many shells. Little effect. Why our batteries have not opened is a source of wonder. About 5 1/2 P. M. to our <sup>662 m.</sup><sub>1542</sub> delight we heard our guns open on the left. (Note 25). Pretty soon the "Balto. Lights" opened, on a hill 1/2 m. to our left. They opened beautifully. The Yanks returned, but fired badly; I suppose from excitement. Kept our line all right as outpost picket. 3 m.

June 15. At daybreak batteries opened. Soon we double-quickened through the town, but saw no Yanks. They had all left during the night having left their flag flying. Heavy firing towards the rear. We captured about 5,000 or 6,000. All the ladies seemed delighted at their deliverance. I met the Misses McD. on the corner. They received me most cordially. They seemed to regret our leaving, though it was an advance. But amidst their regrets said, "But I would not wish you elsewhere when your duty leads you on". I felt rejoiced on arriving and could not but feel a mixture of sorrow with my joy when leaving, tho' Md. is the goal. 2 m.

June 16. Sunrise. Moved on the Martinsburg pike. 7 A. M. Halted at right of Early's Division 4 1/2 m. from town. In the afternoon, joined G. H. Steuart's Brigade and moved towards Shepherdstown. 7 m. from W. passed through Brucetown (Sprucetown). About 3 m. above Smithfield crossed the Opecquon.

Dusk. Halted a little short of Smithfield. The day's march about 10 m. The slow marching necessary, tired me a good deal. This Brigade consists of 10th, 23rd and 37th Va. and the 1st, 2nd and 3rd N. C. Regts.

June 17. About sunrise moved towards Shepherdstown. About noon halted 3 m. short of S. making 12 m.

In the evening I was sent in to see about getting rations. After sending the wagon out we were allowed 1 1/2 hours in town. We were very much pleased. The girls are pretty and thoroughly southern. <sup>686 m.</sup><sub>1566</sub> I took supper at Mr. Harper's. Three of us went, and each of us knew some of their acquaintances. I knew Mrs. Wm. Chandler, who is a sister of the young ladies.

June 18. Moved, and at 4 P. M. crossed the Potomac and bivouaced for the first time on Md. soil. We led the brigade. When we caught sight of the river, a shout arose. On this side we gave three rousing cheers. Then the brigade having halted we gathered round our standard and sang appropriate songs. When passing through Shepherdstown the ladies displayed a Southern flag, and as we passed, turned it, showing the coat of arms of Maryland. 4 m.





June 20. About 9 A. M. moved. Halted for rest on edge of Sharpsburg. Went into bivouac about 2 m. from town on the battlefield of Sharpsburg, or Antietam. Our battalion thrown out as picket, our Company on duty. About 5 m.

June 22. Relieved.

June 23. Moved on the Hagerstown pike. 5 m. from Sharpsburg passed Kimmelltown, named after Col. K. 11 A. M. passed through H. I was much pleased with it. Pushed on 4 1/2 m. on the Chambersburg pike. 15 1/2 m.

June 24. Passed through Middleburg, 1/2 m. from bivouac. This is on the Line. A few houses are in Md., the rest in Penna. 4 m. further passed through Greencastle, quite a considerable town. Here we turned to the left and wound up at Mercersburg, 10 m. from Greencastle -- 5 m. from G. passed Upton.

Our brigade came here, but the rest kept on to Chambersburg. I was left in charge of a guard. 7 P. M. ordered to join my regiment -- found it had gone on. Came up to it at McConnellsburg, just across Cove Mt. This Mt. is 6 m. from foot to foot -- McC. is 10 m. from Mercersburg.

The Co. had a small skirmish on the Mt. The enemy had barricaded the road and yet left with a loss of two wounded, without inflicting any injury upon us. 24 1/2 m. <sup>135 m.</sup>  
<sub>1615</sub>

June 25. Co. A in town on duty. They were out yesterday as skirmishers until they arrived in town at 9 P. M. We are in a land locked valley, called McConnells Cove, not over a mile wide.

The town lies under scrub hill. Back of this a mountain rather higher.

June 26. Moved on the Chambersburg pike. Crossed Cove Mt. which is here 8 m. from foot to foot, McC. being at one foot and Landon at the other. 7 m. from Landon is St. Thomas, 7 m. from L. and T. is Chambersburg. (Note 26).

We encamped about 1 m. short of C. in the Fair Grounds. We had rain all day. 21 m.

June 27. Moved through Chambersburg, towards Carlisle, 5 m. from Ch. passed through Green village. The street has a row of trees on either side, and looked very pretty. 11 m. from Ch. passed through Shippensburg. This is of good size and extends along the pike for upwards of a mile. 7 m. from S. passed Stoughtown, consisting of only 2 or 3 houses. We then turned to the left and encamped about 1 m. from Stoughtown and 1/4 m. above Springfield. Both roads lead to Carlisle. Day's march 20 m. <sup>116 m.</sup>  
<sub>1656</sub>

June 28. Passed through Springfield, a small village, near which is a large, fine spring; from this a good stream flows turning two miles west 200 yds. from the source.





We soon came upon the pike. Having marched to within 4 m. of Carlisle, which is 32 m. from Chambersburg, we turned to the right. Here there is a large T or L house on the left and a barn on the right.

We followed a road and then turned to the left, and went into camp about 1 m. from where we left the pike. I believe we are now very near our Division. We enjoy the Penna. cherries very much and manage to forage, on an average, one meal a day. 10 m.

June 29. Countermarched 3 m. past Stoughton. 13 m.

June 30. Moved pretty early, and at Green village turned to the left on a road which joins the Chambersburg and Gettysburg pike. 1/2 m. from Gr. V. came to Scotland (a station) where the R. road bridge was burnt. 3 m. from Gr. Vil. halted. Day's march 13 m.

July 1. Second rest halted in Fayetteville where we struck the Ch. and Gettysburg pike. F. is 6 m. from Gr. Vil. and is a considerable town. Passed several villages. When about 8 or 10 m. from Gettysburg heard reports of cannon. Ordered to "step out". When about 3/4 m. from G. turned to left, crossing fields, where many dead Yanks were lying, also a few of ours. Can not yet tell the loss on either side.

Struck another road and halted at edge of town.

Having marched only 22 m. I am more nearly "played out" than I have ever been.

After the sun went down I felt better.

Halted in town and after dark moved along the R. R. running east from town. Crossed the stream above and took the pike. Then turned to left and took position, as I suppose, to rear of enemy's right flank. (Note 27). 24 m.

836 m.  
1716

July 2. Skirmishing commenced pretty early. We were advanced, throwing our left more around. Forded stream nearly waist deep.

Much to my regret there seemed much confusion. (Note 28). Going up the hill, soon got under heavy fire and laid down; now night.

Why we did not charge is a wonder. Soon, ordered on. Found they had abandoned the first works, from which they had been firing so heavily. We had been lying within 40 yds. of them. Took possession and threw out a line of pickets, just ahead. (Note 29).

While relieving them, they opened a heavy fire. Soon re-established them.

July 3. About 5 A. M. firing commenced. The Yanks in works on the main hill and about 150 yds. from us. Hot work and loss pretty





heavy on either side. Co. "A" kept it up until the men were worn out (nothing to eat for two days) and many of the guns so clogged as to be useless.

We fired, I suppose, on an average from 80 to 90 rounds. We were then relieved by another company and filled our boxes.

Soon whole brigade ordered to left. Then by "File left" (File right, or perhaps, "Right by file into line" -- Apl. 1893) to gain a flanking position. And now our great calamity commenced. (Note 30).

We fixed bayonets and advanced. Soon were in full view of the enemy, but also the same disorder and confusion. There seemed no commander, or his orders were not forwarded. The left and center of the brigade halted in disorder and opened fire. The enemy pouring in death volleys. Our company, part of "C" and a few from 3rd N. C. on our right were a good deal in advance, (though our whole battalion was in advance). Our only safety lay in charging, but no: "Steady" -- "Steady" -- was the oft repeated order, while the men were being mowed down. Still we advanced slowly to within 40 ft. of the enemy. Then some one ordered us to retire. All broke for cover, but I fear few found it. I fired and was about to turn, when I was stricken down by a ball in my hip, coming out in front of the stomach. (Note 31).

An intermittent fire was kept up on each side, from the enemy often heavy. While down I received two more wounds, one through the left elbow, one through the left thigh.

The fire over the wounded was awful to those suffering. I managed to drag myself about 10 ft. down the hill and when the firing lulled two Yanks came up and bore me off to a surgeon. I think they took off all who were near enough their line. I met Genl. Kane who was very kind and ordered me to be taken to the Division Hospital. Thomas Leiper, a Lieutenant on his staff, went with me to the Field Surgeon who dressed my wounds. Leiper then ordered the best care to be taken of me and sent a message to the Surgeon of the Hospital to that effect, but I do not think it was delivered. Lt. L. also insisted upon my taking \$3.00, all he could spare.

I felt the ride to the hospital (2 1/2 m.) very much. I was kindly treated by all. Late in the evening I was sent to the Provost (2 m.) and after suffering from the ride was laid in the graveyard, without shelter. Lamar Hollyday and I got together, managed to have an india rubber and a blanket between us. There are a good many Confederates here. While lying on the battlefield I was grieved to see poor Bill Murray stretched out stiff and cold. Oh! How I felt. I liked him, and he was a fine soldier, a fine Captain. He used to look forward with such pride and joy to an entrance into Baltimore, and to think his life was thrown away. Had the left been properly conducted and supported, the loss might have been small, and there was a chance of their gaining the advantage which would have won the battle. But all was disordered, the men slaughtered. (See APPENDIX for "Extracts from Marden's diary of the time I was a prisoner").





July 7. We were all moved to the College Hospital (Confed.) in Gettysburg. Up to this time we have been lying out, in heavy rains; the sun being sometimes quite hot and irritating though under a cloud. The surgeons have not even looked at my wounds, saying there were so many they had not got round; but they were not active. One told me he had not been to breakfast and could not work before it. But I must not forget to mention the kindness of Mr. Davis of the 2nd Pa. Cav. and his son. Mr. D., though having work to attend to with his own men, attended to us every spare moment, night and day. Nothing seemed too much trouble for him. Hollyday and I would have suffered much had it not been for his kindness. He would get us water, moisten our bandages and assist us in changing our position, and often brought us what we considered delicious, light bread, apple butter, tea, &c. The detailed nurses did not attend to their duties, he took their place. Mr. D. and his son belong to Co. I, 2nd Pa. Cav. Mr. Spencer and his wife, attached to the hospital were very kind. Mrs. S. seemed truly to find pleasure in relieving suffering. She was formerly music teacher in Brooklyn, I think. She sent a letter for H. and me to Baltimore.

July 9. Being more comfortably fixed, I am getting on better. Our nurse is kind. But there are not enough nurses, nor surgeons. We have not proper food. The ladies bring some in, but of course that can not go very far.

July 19. Several days since I was removed by Dr. Quinan (a Fed. Surgeon) to the Presbyterian Church. Here I am very comfortably fixed. Sisters of Charity attend here. Everything is clean and I get what I want. By Dr. Q.'s directions they attend particularly to me. I could not be more fortunate unless I could go home. Mother has been with me some time.

July 20. Getting along pretty well.

July 23. About 2 P. M. went to the cars expecting to stop at Harrisburg. 4 P. M. Started and was told I would have to go on to N. Y. I was not fit, but there was no help. On board all night. (Note 32).

July 24. A collision, which detained us four or five hours. Only one man injured. The ladies, in many places along the route, very kind. Reached Elizabethport about 10 P. M. 11 P. M. all aboard the steamer.

Met Mrs. Broadhead, of Easton, Pa., a niece of Jeff. Davis, who seemed desirous of doing all she could.

July 25. 3 A. M. reached David's Island, in head of Long Island Sound and about 20 m. from New York. This is covered with hospitals and looks quite pretty.

Sept. 23. Left David's Island about 4 1/2 P. M. in the "Thos. P. Way", from which we were transferred to the "City of Balto.", an old freight propeller. (Note 33).





Sept. 25. 1 A. M. anchored off Fortress Monroe.

Sept. 26. About 2 P. M. Having been transferred to the "New York", left for "City Point" and arrived about 9 P. M.

Sept. 27. About sundown the gunboat, "Torpedo", and a steamer with two canal boats came down. We got aboard and started, about 2 A. M. of 28th for Richmond. Detained by a dense fog. Reached R. about 10 A. M. and made "Castle Thunder", my headquarters. (Note 34).

I will here state that the treatment of the wounded was very good. I saw no cause of complaint. Many ladies visited us and were very kind. There were three kitchens established by the ladies, supported by private contribution. In these the ladies took much pains to prepare food more suitable for the feeble, than the hospital afforded. Many of the ladies were southern in feeling, but the "Union" also acted cheerfully for our benefit. The "Pelham" supplied me.

Oct. 17. Soon after arriving Mrs. Mason sent me a kind invitation to stay at her house. I thought I had better remain here while I needed a physician. I expect to accept her invitation in a few days.

I found Mrs. G. of Winchester here and became acquainted with her sister, Mrs. J. Green.

Soon after; Miss F. McD. came down from Charlottesville. Her sister S. expected. As I find so many acquaintances here I expect to spend a pleasant time.

Last night Miss F. said her father desired to know whether I would like to be recording clerk to the Court Martial. He met me today and told me to make application if I wished it. The salary is \$1000 per annum. This was an unexpected kindness and attention.

Oct. 19. Concluded I could not duly perform the duties in my present nervous state.

Oct. 21. Removed to Mrs. Mason's.

Oct. 29. Spending a very pleasant time. My wounds are healed, but my leg painful. Charlie Steele and F. Steele in room with me. Most of my lady acquaintances are now in Richmond, and I am enjoying myself more than I expected.

Dec. 10. Willie Edelen and I engaged room on 9th street from Gordon Hill. It is warmed by pipe through it and has gas, for \$22 per week.

Dec. 11. Moved into room. Also commenced in Maj. Ambler's office. (Note 35). Went to a sociable at Miss Nettie Powell's. Late in the evening, a dance being proposed, I hopped through two sets and enjoyed them very much. I also danced one set a few evenings since at Miss Jennie Cooper's.





Dec. 14. Commenced boarding at "The Linwood".

Dec. 28. Xmas has passed. Though not as dull as that of '61, nor yet of '62, it was by no means such as I remember of old. With sad longing my thoughts turned homeward. Oh! that I could once more enjoy a Xmas holiday there. The social gatherings of family and friends, how grateful after all the turmoil of the past three years. Often does the thought come, Shall I ever pass another at home? God grant it.

1864

January. New Year's has passed.

Though some say it was unusually gay for Richmond, there seemed to me little of the usual display of joy.

January 14. Left my room, and also the Linwood. W. E. and I took room and board at Mrs. Crouch's, 4th and Clay Streets. A large, comfortable room. Mrs. C. a very gentle old lady and I expect, very kind.

Feb. 3. Today we were declared exchanged. It has relieved my mind of much anxiety. I expect to report on the 8th to my Company. Though not yet able to march, I can do camp duty, and hope to be able for field duty by the opening of the campaign. Anyhow, I shall be fit for cavalry, if nothing else.

I have so many pleasant acquaintances here now (in R.) that I must confess I am loath to leave them. But duty must be obeyed. And I would not willingly lose next summer's campaign.

Feb. 9. Left the office today, intending to go to camp tomorrow.

Feb. 10. Arrived in camp, near Hanover Junction, about dusk, and expect to report for duty tomorrow after reveille.

Feb. 12. W., I and B. F. having arrived, our mess held a consultation about a dwelling. Contrary to the advice of all, except ourselves, we will add to a small house which Ridge Howard and Jno. Henry put up. Hauled a load of poles from an old camp.

Feb. 13. Soon after reveille set to work. Henry and I being the carpenters. By night we had built the addition, pulled down the roof and part of wall of old house and roofed the new. So in one day we built the house, but did not plaster it. Having finished I went to dinner as hungry as a lion and enjoyed fat pork, cabbage (without vinegar), potatoes and corn bread, as much as I ever did any dinner.

Feb. 22. We had no celebration, but at night Cavalry, Artillery and Infantry waited on Lieut. Franklin for a speech, then we called Johnson and Crane. The last excused himself. It wound up with a good deal of merriment. (Note 36).





Feb. 25. On picket with 6 men at county road bridge over North Anna river. A warm, clear day. Singing of birds and croaking of frogs reminding me of spring.

Feb. 26. Craig Lake sent to Richmond, sick with varioloid or smallpox.

Feb. 29. Battalion called out about 2 1/2 P. M. Stacked arms. A yankee raiding party reported out near Frederick hall.

Rain -- arms taken -- night, two companies on picket.

March 1. 1 A. M. two more companies on picket. 4 1/2 A. M. Battalion roused to await orders. About 6 A. M. marched to the Junction. Keep train in readiness and await orders.

During last night our cavalry engaged skirmishing. Yanks now reported going down the Peninsula. A wet day.

Some of the Yanks supposed to be turning back. Co. A on picket 2 1/2 m. above on C. R. R. Drawn in 3/4 m. Drawn in 1/2 m. about 6 P. M. outpost drawn in one thrown out 1/2 m. from reserve at forks of road; I in charge with Corp. Thomas.

Night, rain, then hail, then snow. About 2 A. M. cleared. <sup>1234 1/2 m.</sup><sub>2114 1/2</sub> Passed safely. One alarm, supposed caused by a man passing about 4 1/2 m. Fired one shot at him, or it, as may be.

March 2. Outpost relieved. Form reserves (?) as there seems no chance of being relieved.

Still thought that some of the Yanks may make a dash on this road.

March 3. Picket withdrawn and Co. goes to camp. 1 m.

March 10. 1 P. M. R. H. and I go into the woods at reveille and cut till breakfast time. After breakfast return, in the rain. Got wringing wet from my feet to head, and came back to find our shanty leaking. To offset the disagreeable part, is the possession of enough wood to last a month or more.

March 18. First drill in artillery. Detailed to drill one of the cavalry companies (Capt. Emack's), in infantry skirmish, every day at 9 A. M.

April 2. My birthday celebrated by being my cook-day. Snowing all morning. For about 1/2 an hour the snow flakes were larger than I ever saw. Most were at least an inch, or inch and a half in diameter. It fell thick and fast.

April 20. Relieved from duty as drill-master. Being rather a "soft" thing I was not anxious to give it up.

April 27. Orders to leave at 8 A. M. The object is a change of camp. Though I believe it is not as healthy in our huts in summer we are all





sorry to leave the comforts of winter quarters. 8 A. M. broke camp and established ourselves about 1 1/2 m. distant, across the Central R. R. and less than 1/2 m. from the Junction. Busy laying out the camp, and putting up the various shelters. Our mess happened to have a "fly" which we had used as a roof for our house. This taking off the roof of a winter establishment, and making a summer house of it is a new feature in architecture. 1 1/2 m.

April 28. On battalion drill our Co. was divided and I being the 2nd in rank present was in command of one company. Got through very well for my first experience as company commander on battalion drill.

May 7. Our mess employed a negro boy to cook for us.

May 9. About 2 1/2 P. M. marched to N. Anna bridge on "Telegraph" road on account of report of Yankee raid. Co. A sent to R. R. bridge. Threw out pickets, &c.

Two trains have gone up, hence I think the report false. Artillery posted in forts. 3 m.

May 10. About 1 A. M. drew in pickets and proceeded to camp to await orders. I had to return to the Junction with a squad to get more ammunition. The wires between here and Hanover C. H. cut. About 3 1/2 ordered to Taylorsville. Arrived about daybreak. So far about 3 m. Our luck, to be moving. About 8 A. M. ordered to move to the fortifications on Little or Middle river to support a section of 1st Md. Battery. About 12 M. informed that the Yanks are near at hand.

Moved on the 3 Fork road about 1 1/2 m. Here met dismounted Cav. and were soon joined by Art. and most of our Battalion. Soon a scout reported that the Yanks had turned towards Richmond and were passing about 9 m. distant. In the evening heard one of Diment's guns. This caused some excitement, but soon heard that it had been fired by mistake at some of Emack's Co.

11 P. M. went to camp which is about 3 m. Our mess found all right, minus our corn meal. 8 1/2 m.

May 11. Ordered to take charge of 84 prisoners and proceed to the Junction.

May 12. A train came down the C. R. R. and left six more prisoners in my charge. I hope one will soon return to take them all to Richmond. All the mess except Henry and the Adj. are out of camp on duty.

Now is the time we feel the comfort of having a negro. We have been trying to get one for a long time.

May 13. Relieved and went to camp.

May 17. Co. A on picket on C. R. R. at S. Anna bridge. For the last 10 days we have had rain nearly every day, often in the shape of thunder showers. 5 m.





May 19. Near sunset unexpectedly relieved by "Co. Q" of the Cav. Returned to camp. Found everything packed for a move.

Allowing nothing to be carried in the wagon except cooking utensils, this does not amount to much. Shortly afterwards ordered to cook. No rations being allowed in the wagons will, I fear, cause some little starvation. 5 m.

May 20. Apparently all quiet. In the evening I walked out, and returning met the battalion hurrying towards the Junction. The Yanks at H. C. H. Having obtained my arms I hurried down and arrived at the Junction in time to take a train which the battalion had boarded. This took us to within 600 yds of S. Anna bridge of C. R. R.

Co. A across the river, the 2nd Platoon, under my charge, on picket. Md. Cavalry skirmishing, about 1 1/4 m. in front.

Yanks retire. 1 m.

May 21. First Platoon, under Sergt. Pierson on picket.

May 22. All quiet. Scarcity of rations from mismanagement. Camp broken up, and men detailed to bring effects of the Battalion down.

9 P. M. rations arrived. Today R. E. Lee at the Junction. Ewell's corps passed by. The two caused many rumors. Nothing certain known, but all confident that all is right and Lee knows what he is about.

Report says we have been turned over to Breckenridge, but that our organization will remain intact.

May 23. About 12 M. move towards H. C. H. with orders to report to Genl. Breckenridge at that place. Arrived about 1 1/2 P. M.

The village consists of an old-fashioned brick Ct. House, <sup>1263 m.</sup><sub>1143</sub> a stone jail, a good sized tavern, a private dwelling and several out-buildings. Breckenridge, having come, we find we are to bivouac here. "C" sent on picket. 3 1/2 m.

May 24. 3 3/4 A. M. moved in rear of Division, on same road we came. Met the Telegraph road where it crosses the R. F. & P. R. R. about 2 1/2 m. from Junction.

The day being hot, the road either dusty or sandy, and the marching tedious, the men suffered a good deal. 12 M. reached our last camp, where we are now resting with arms stacked.

When we left we had no idea of marching over 20 miles in a circle, only to return to where we started. About 4 P. M. marched to Junction took C. R. R. and halted 1/8 m. from Junction. Rolled logs, &c., for temporary breastworks.





A very heavy shower. Later we moved back a short distance and bivouacked about 25 yards in front of R. R. 13 m.

1276 m.  
2156

There was very heavy skirmishing directly in our front today and I think one or two volleys of the line. Result not known.

May 25. All quiet till about 3 P. M. when a few guns were fired.

May 26. Some skirmishing. A few wounded Yankees sent to the rear.

May 27. Pretty heavy skirmishing about 5 1/2 A. M. 10 or 15 Yanks sent to rear. Orders to report to Col. Johnson at H. C. H., but countermanded a few minutes later. 9.45 A. M. moved down F. R. R. and stacked arms just below Ashland, within the race course. 4.50 P. M. moved down the R. R. and took the road through the Hanover "Slashes".

It is just two years, less a month, since under Jackson I marched down this same road.

By a singular coincidence we spent the night there on the same ground on which we stacked arms a few hours since.

We are now halted 100 yards from where the road crosses the R. R., in an apple orchard just where we then halted. Also it is the same day of the week, Friday. I trust we may meet with the same success as then, and have as short a list of casualties. Moved on and about 1 m. turned down the Telegraph road, which we found very bad. Darkness made the march worse still. 10 P. M. halted on bank of Stoney Creek, about 7 m. from Ashland. 14 m.

The road through the "Slashes" is peculiar, being alternately fine, firm sand and deep, whitish mud.

May 28. 10 1/2 A. M. moved on the road to Atlee's Station. 1 m. below crossed the road from Hanover C. H. Struck the C. R. R. just above Atlee's Station, at which place we crossed it, being 5 m. from our bivouac. 1/2 m. further stacked arms.

6 P. M. moved toward "Old Church" and halted after 2 1/2 m. march. Took position as reserve of Division. Yankee picket about 1 or 1 1/2 m. below. 8 m.

May 29. All quiet, except a little skirmishing, till about 3 P. M. when our skirmishers were driven in and at 3 1/4 P. M. the first gun was fired. Two more fired and all again quiet. We moved up in line of battle to Mr. Gardner's lane, whose house is about 150 yds. to our right.

Just on our left is Mrs. Taliaferro's house.

Two hundred yards in front is a small stream, "Totopotomie Creek". On the opposite side, and 600 or 700 yds. from it, is a fine dwelling. Unfortunately, in it is a family, some too sick to be





removed. 5 1/2 P. M. skirmishing has commenced. Our batteries are on the south banks, in temporary fortifications thrown up last night. Sunset, skirmishing pretty heavy. A sharp shooter firing at us, but in vain. In evening moved back 150 yds. to where we lay last night.

May 30. Some skirmishing. About 11 A. M. our batteries opened. 12 M. Yanks open. They fire high, most of the shells passing over us, we being in a hollow to right of last night's position. A little after sunset Yanks open a heavy fire of shells and spherical case. Have our range well, but fortunately none hurt.

May 31. Sgt. Pearson sent to rear sick. Whole line (of Division) moved about 800 yds. to rear, to obtain a better position, and also to rectify general line. 8 1/2 A. M. batteries open. Several shells, &c., strike around us, unpleasantly near. One more wounded and sent to rear. 1/2 m.

June 1. All quiet. I went to the stream and washed the clothes I had on, not knowing when I should have a chance to change.

2 P. M. Yanks opened and for a short time shells and minies were hunting for us. One of our Co. was struck, but not hurt. Our chief source of trouble is the want of good tobacco.

June 2. About 1 1/2 A. M. found our Division had moved and without awaiting orders, marched.

We moved to the rear till we struck a road leading by a house on the right, to the Mechanicsville road. On that turned to the left. 2 m. passed Shady Grove Church. 2 m. further came to Mechanicsville and took the road to Gaines' Mill, which is about 3 1/2 m. 2 1/2 m. halted in woods for rest. Took the road to the right (I believe the same place where our battery fired by mistake on the S. C. two years since) and soon halted for the Division which we then heard was in rear. About 10 A. M. moved with Division. About 4 m. passed Dr. Gaines' house. A short distance beyond left road and crossed field to left and gradually wound around hills to the right. About 1/2 m. rest of Division formed line a short distance in front, and our battalion in reserve, Breckenridge remarking that he would soon have us in front and felt sure we would never break. I have heard of his complimenting us several times, though he has never seen us in action. 5 P. M. moved in rear of first line. Minies abundant and cause us to keep flat. Later a line forms in our rear. During the night disturbed by frequent volleys from front line. 11 m.

June 3. About 5 A. M. Yanks break through our line a little to our left and front. The line in rear of us charge. No order given us but a majority of the battalion can not be restrained and rush in with them. This causes a little confusion, but the charge is successful and we retake the trenches. The battalion is pretty well mixed up. Our position in the trenches is subject to an enfilade, partially reverse, fire and hence is decidedly unpleasant.





Traverses help us but we are too much crowded.

Today a party in which were some of our battalion and Co. charged the rifle pits in front and brought in about 20 prisoners. About 9 P. M. our Division relieved. We go back on the road we came in, about 3/4 m. Our Co. loss today, 2 killed, 5 wounded, battalion loss, 4 killed, 34 wounded. At the charge in the morning, a portion of the battalion retake our artillery, and man a gun under Lieutenant Chas. Wise and open on the enemy. They had tried to turn it on us, but had not time. The men behaved gallantly and had we had orders it would have been a brilliant affair. 1/2 m. (Note 38).

June 4. Move back 1/4 m. About 8 P. M. I took off my shoes hoping to rest quietly though so near the front. But immediately after, the enemy charged, also opening with mortars and guns. They shelled the woods in which we are pretty warmly, but, fortunately, in vain.

Soon, by the cheers of our men in front, we were assured that the enemy were repulsed, and then we slept in comfort.

Yesterday several amusing events occurred. For instance, two of our battalion reached the rifle pits and at the same time some Yanks took possession of them. The fire was too hot to go either way. So they agreed that whoever held the pits at night should claim the others as prisoners. At night we charged the pits and our two brought in their prisoners.

Another, of Clark's battalion, was also in a pit with a Yank. They played cards all day, and at night he brought Mr. Yank in.

When our line was broken a "Confed" jumped into a pit which happened to be in rear of the outer line. Soon a Yank jumped in to avoid the bullets. Yank says, "Are you a Reb?" Reb, "Yes." "Then surrender." Reb touched his hat and surrendered. Just after, we charged the Yanks and drove them back. Now came Reb's turn. He said, "Are you a Yank?" "Yes." Reb, "Then take off your hat and surrender." Off came Mr. Yank's hat and Mr. Reb marched him to the rear." 1/4 m.

June 5. All quiet till 8 P. M. when a heavy fire opened in front. In a few minutes the shelling commenced, making this woods decidedly warm. They had better range of it than yesterday. Tom Harrison wounded in foot. Grant seems determined to annoy us just as we are about to take our rest.

June 6. During the day pretty quiet. But all night there was picket firing and sometimes heavy skirmishing, which once or twice made us seek the hollow, expecting the usual night visitors. Only one or two called. About 10 P. M. the Division moved off, leaving us with orders to report to A. P. Hill.

I believe they go to the Valley. What will be our orders, no one knows.





June 7. Ordered to report to Genl. Fry, of Heth's Division. Moved to right about 1/2 m. and take position in second line of entrenchments with Fry's Brigade, Heth's Division, A. P. Hill's corps. This is, I fear, a breaking up of the "Line" and consequently we will not get the credit should we do anything worthy. 1/2 m.

June 8. All quiet till 7 P. M. when we had music from cannon, shot and shell for an hour.

June 9. Quiet broken only by a few picket shots.

June 10. Generally quiet. About dusk we were serenaded by a Yankee band which we could hear quite distinctly.

June 11. Sergt. Pearson returned to duty. All quiet till about 7 P. M. when a few shot and shell visited us. One solid shot, happening to just escape the crest of the hill passed through four of our fly-tents, 2 of "B", 1 of "F" and 1 of "A".

By the mercy of God, no one was touched.

June 12. Today, Sunday, Mr. Duncan had service. Amidst the exercises I heard the Yankee band, and frequent shots from the pickets. We have had frequent services lately, generally the picket firing being heard during them.

June 13. About 6 1/2 A. M. moved over McClelland's (Grape Vine) bridge. The causeway and all is about 1/2 m. long, though the bridge proper occupied only two pontoons. After crossing moved towards our left, by fields and by roads and struck the Williamsburg road. Relieved some cavalry and sent out skirmishers.

Wagner is wounded and can not be brought off yet.

Vite of Co. "C" was killed trying to get to him. Four, I think, of the Battalion killed and wounded. Entrenching all afternoon. (Having marched about 4 m. crossed the Y. R. R. R. at Meadow Station).

From the Williamsburg road we took, I think, the road leading <sup>13 17 3/4 m.</sup> <sub>21 17 3/4</sub> through "White Oak Swamp". Wagner brought off during the night badly wounded. 7 m.

June 14. 8 1/2 A. M. Yanks having left, we form brigade, and take the road again, soon crossing a bridge, which I recognize as the same which we crossed in coming from Harrison's landing, in '62.

In a few minutes halted; why, I know not. We laid along the roadside all day and night.

I then enjoyed sleeping without shoes or stockings for the first time for twenty-two days.

There is a report that the Yanks burned a bridge behind them and we are repairing it.





I don't know whether it is true.

(15th) We are now on the road leading to Malvern Hill, about 2 m. above the crossing of the road leading to Charles City C. H. from Richmond. 1 m.

June 15. About 7 A. M. Stacked arms in line.

8 1/2 A. M. formed line of battle (otherwise "line of fight", later "Strick of fought") along road, left of our brigade resting near the bridge. Built breastworks, and sent out skirmishers, who report all quiet.

June 16. 12 3/4 P. M. Battalion go on picket about 1 m. on the road leading to Long bridge, which leaves the Malvern Hill road to the right about 3/4 m. from the bridge in our rear. We are at the junction of the Long bridge road and road to Gancey's Shop. 1 m.

June 17. Battalion relieved about 5 1/2 P. M. Arriving at our position, found orders to move.

6 1/2 P. M. started taking a by-road (new) through fields and woods to Charles City road. In that we turned to right, thus going towards Richmond. Marched about 5 m. and halted at 8 1/2 P. M. about 2 m. from White's tavern.

The road was very dusty and three swamps lay in our way; the two rendering the march rather unpleasant. 6 m.

June 18. 4 1/2 A. M. moved. At White's tavern took a by-road to left and struck the New Market road, (about 4 m. from C. C. R.) in which we turned to the right and followed it about 1 1/2 m.; then took the road by Chapin's farm to the pontoon bridge. (Note 39). Thence to the R & P. pike to Port Walthall Junction. Just below we took train for Petersburg at 5 P. M. So for today, 21 m.

Soon after passing Drury's Bluff heard heavy firing towards our right, which we afterwards hear was caused by a charge of the Yanks with like results on May 12th and June 3rd. All seemed to feel the march very much. 1 m. from P. left the train, having ridden nearly 4 m. which was a pleasant change.

Took road to Fort Clinton, but soon turned to right and took our position about 1 m. from where we left R. R. in sight of spires of P. and 1 m. down the river. Night occupied in entrenching. 22 m.

June 19. Visited by a few shell. Trees have been cut down, and planted in rear of the works, which accord us a pleasant shade, with little trouble. 10 1/2 P. M. rather heavy firing towards the right, with considerable artillery.

June 20. 8 A. M. our batteries open and keep up a rapid fire for some time.





June 21. 12 M. Genl. Lee visits this part of the line. 6 1/2 P. M. Moved by same road we came as far as the R. R. which we crossed and having struck the pike turned towards Petersburg.

Halted in the town and were then ordered back.

It being now dark, we came across the fields, being nearer. In the day this route is in sight of the enemy. 3 1/2 m.

June 22. Lt. Zollinger returned from his Maryland trip and reports that Sergt. Smith was captured.

June 23. The enemy throw shells, a little to our left, with much accuracy, but no one hurt.

June 24. 7.5 A. M. Batteries along lone open a hot fire on Battery No. 5, for the purposes (reported) of covering a charge by the right. Continued one hour, during which our skirmishers on the right charged and were apparently successful.

June 25. 2.15 A. M. On account of heavy details, it is thought necessary to send non-commissioned officers on the skirmish line. I go out.

3 1/2 A. M. Brigade moves towards Fort Clifton, leaving only our skirmish line to hold this part. But the position is strong. (Note 40).

5 1/2 P. M. Cannonading for the last hour.

The line of flight is about 8 yds. to our right and as some shells burst opposite us, it was a little unpleasant. The marching of our battalion was by mistake, consequently it returned and now, with the 47th Va. will hold this line.

Battalion marched about 8 m. suffering a good deal from the heat. 8 m.

June 26. 9 A. M. Very hot. For the last 5 or 6 days the weather has been intensely hot. We have had no rain since May 24th, except a drizzle on June 2nd. 8 P. M. go on skirmish line.

June 27. 3 A. M. relieved. All quiet. Cloudy all around, but no rain.

June 28. The air much cooler, from the surrounding rain. I go on picket.

June 29. While on picket Yanks shelled pretty warmly. Relieved.

June 30. 5.10 P. M. Heard heavy musketry on our right, and our batteries open.

Yanks have our range with both rifles and mortars, but fortunately no one hurt.





Firing continues for 1 1/2 hrs. after which pretty quick skirmishing kept. Yanks supposed to have charged. I go on picket line.

July 1. All quiet. Very sultry, with hot wind.

July 3. Rather more pleasant. Go on picket line.

During the night the Yanks amuse us with fireworks in the shape of bomb shells, firing three and four together. Passing through the air they look very pretty, but, when bursting near, are unpleasant. I thought they were preparing for the "Fourth".

July 4. All very quiet. The expected demonstration not coming off. 6 1/2 P. M. Our battalion and the 47th Va. relieved by two regts. of Scale's brigade.

Skirmishers relieved from them.

7.45 P. M. moved by road we came in. At the pike halted about 3 hrs., I think, to wait for the rest of the brigade. About 10 3/4 moved, passing through Petersburg. Halted about 1 1/2 m. out on the military road, in a fine young apple orchard. 5 1/2 m.

July 5. Moved into position, going behind the trenches a few hundred yards from us.

We are about 400 yards from Weldon R. R. opposite the lead works. The Southern Road running with the R. R.

July 6. Our position is very unpleasant, there being little shade and a road passing directly by us. The latter, owing to the drought, is terribly dusty. We are near water and have little to do.

July 8. The drought still prevails, though we are blessed with some clouds which give promise of rain ere long. 4 1/2 P. M. ordered to hold ourselves in readiness. Various rumors. The principal, that all the artillery is going to open. About 5 P. M. heard pretty heavy musketry, with cannon on the left. Then a cheer, apparently from our men, which led me to believe that either we had charged, or repulsed a Yankee charge.

I think I have now proved that I can do Infantry duty. But my leg and foot are still often painful and I do not seem to be as strong as formerly, nor to bear fatigue as well.

But I think I can see this summer out, and have strong faith that this summer will end the fighting. How the North can continue longer in its folly, I can not understand. God grant I may not be disappointed. To see this war out and once more to meet my friends in peace, is now the acme of my wishes.

July 9. Made a hickory pipe and got a genuine reed root stem down in the stream, after which I enjoyed the use of it.





July 10. 7 P. M. Moved and formed the Division at the Lead and Copper Works. Then took the Weldon R. R. and marched about 2 1/2 m., formed line of battle and threw out skirmishers. Supposed to be to prevent an attack upon trains coming in. 2 1/2 m.

July 11. Moved down for shade, but the place was not as comfortable as where we were. 10 A. M. ordered to form line again on R. R. as Yanks are in line, tho' distant.

Improved our "posish" a little, and I soon went to a deserted house yard about 50 yds. distant. There is a large apple orchard here.

Last night and this morning I feasted in it.

It was perfectly cleaned out. 3 m.

July 12. 5 1/2 A. M. Moved to our "posish" behind the breastworks by a short cut. 2 m.

July 14. Rumors that Early is in Baltimore. Northern news that he is within 7 miles of it.

Of course some excitement among us, and more regret that we were not sent with Early. Officers meet and draw up a memorial to Genl. Lee, desiring to be sent to that army.

July 15. Good news from Md. Would we were there!

July 18. Yesterday Yankee pickets in our front reported that Grant had died from effects of shell wound. If so, I wonder what effect it will have. Conflicting accounts of Early. But I believe all is right.

Morning opened with a heavy mist, with a few drops now and then, the nearest approach to rain for some time. A little rain at night.

July 19. A first rate rain which no doubt will do the corn good, though rather late.

July 20. 1 P. M. cleared, though cloudy after.

Dress parade held and Genl. Lee's reply to our memorial (asking to be sent to Early in Md.) read. He said, "Genl. Early is now in the Valley; therefore the object of the memorial can not be accomplished. Should another opportunity offer this brave battalion shall be remembered."

July 24. Today wrote letters relative to the Va. Vol. N.

July 27. 2 P. M. Moved off forming brigade on road leading to Halifax St. (same we came out). Kept on west suburbs of town to avoid being seen by enemy, then struck P. & R. pike and having marched about 6 m. took the cars (about 3 m. from town) at 5 1/2 P. M. Having





ridden about 10 m. debarked Rice's Station and at 7 1/2 P. M. moved towards Drury's Bluff. Owing to the miserable order of march, the brigade became divided and our part went 1/2 m. out of the way. (While on the cars saw Butler's observatory, very high). Crossed the James at the Bluff and took the same road by which we came, turned down the River road, and having passed Chapin's Bluff, turned to left and, by twisting and turning, arrived at our halting place at 2 1/2 A. M. of 28th.

About 1/5 of brigade came in. I was tempted several times to give up, but by an effort of will staggered along to the end. I can not stand marching as formerly; but all felt it much and only 1/3 of Co. A came in, but that, I think, was nearly double the proportion of any other in the brigade. Day's march at least 17 m.

July 28. Moved 1/2 m. down road and took position in trenches, throwing out skirmishers. A few shells fired over us. Heard the whistle of one of the Yank gunboats. The river is, I think, about 1/2 m. distant. 2 P. M. a Yankee force advanced and skirmishers became engaged.

In a short time they retired.

I think we are now on the New Market road, about 2 m. from N. M. and 10 from Richmond and in the region known as Deep Bottom. 1/2 m.

July 30. 12 M. Moved by Chapin's Bluff across the pontoons to <sup>1401 3/4 m.</sup> Rice's Station. To bridge about 5 m. To Station about 2 1/2 m. <sup>2281 3/4</sup> At Dunlap's debarked and passing through town took our old position 4 1/2 m. distant. 12 m.

Unpleasant as it is, I have to acknowledge myself a broken down soldier. When a mile from the Station I had to fall out for rest for the first time in my three years' campaigning.

The battalion halted about 50 yds. ahead.

I might have gone that far, but in a weak moment, thinking they would not halt before reaching the Station, I gave in. But I joined the Co. as it moved off and came in with it.

With the utmost exertion of the will, I can not stand marching as heretofore, I believe it is owing to my wounds. My leg always pains me and the sole of my foot has the sensation of having an eighth of an inch of dirt caked in the shoe. This, in itself, is a great impediment to marching. What I heretofore considered a short march completely uses me up. Though I trust I will not have again to give up. To me, it is rather humiliating.

Aug. 1. 5 3/4 P. M. moved to bridge at edge of town, turned to right up a valley and shortly went up in fields to right. Halted till after dark, then crossed the Baxter road and relieved some troops in trenches about s. w. by w. of town. 2 m.





Aug. 2. Moved a little to left. We are about 400 or 500 yds. to right of exploded mine.

9 P. M. moved still further to left, forming in two ranks.

Aug. 4. Received answer from S. Bassett French with regard to V. V. N. That scheme is at an end.

The castles fall. To pass away the dreary time I will build others on a foundation even less firm. 6 1/2 P. M. Moved 50 yds. further to left, this time to allow a regiment to join its brigade.

Aug. 8. We have now been here 7 days of hot weather, all crowded together and having an unpleasant time, the monotony varied by a few shells and minies flying over us. So far no one hurt.

Aug. 9. A washing squad was formed and I went down for a bath. Found a pond and took a bath and a swim, which I enjoyed very much after my week's sweltering in the trenches.

Aug. 12. Today some firing at mortar just in our rear, the shells coming unpleasantly near.

Two in our battalion were wounded, and two days since another.

Aug. 13. 8 P. M. relieved, by Davis' brigade extending in one rank, and moved down into the valley in our rear. 1 1/2 m.

Aug. 14. Went in town and attended service in an Episcopal Church for the first time in six months. How the last six months have slipped by! Received a long flag-of-truce letter from mother, on my return to camp.

Aug. 15. 11 1/2 A. M. Brigade ordered out to witness the execution of two deserters.

In the evening had a heavy rain in which W.'s blanket and my gutta-percha got thoroughly wet. Willy Edelen being sick I went with him and slept on the floor of a house on the hill. 1 m.

Aug. 18. 12 M. Ordered to pack up. In a few moments moved off. Went down the Weldon R. R. and having marched 1 1/2 m. formed line in woods. Soon met the Yanks and charged. Drove them through the woods, a field of corn, and into another woods. The latter was chiefly a chaparral formed of scrub-oak and undergrowth, decidedly the worst fighting ground I ever was on. We drove them at least a mile.

Then halted and formed. After a while they rallied and charged, but a volley or two put them to flight. Many rushed into our lines, having hid behind trees, evidently glad to be made prisoners. They groped and shelled us. While lying in line a shrapnel struck immediately in the front rank of our Company and burst just as it commenced to ricochet. It wounded four or five and blinded several. Our Co. "A" loss is nine killed and wounded and two missing. Just





after getting in line, it commenced raining heavily and we had it wet all the evening. About 5 P. M. moved a little back and threw up slight entrenchments.

We were now near a watermelon patch and I ate watermelon and cantaloup for the first time this year, I being "broke" and melons too high. About 8 P. M. withdrew and took position in one rank in the trenches just to left of R. R. by the shot and copper works. 5 m.

Aug. 19. 12 M. Ordered to pack up. Just as we got our bunks down it commenced raining heavily and continued all evening.

1 1/2 P. M. Moved down the R. R. and at 2 formed line in same woods as yesterday and moved up to edge of woods. About 4 P. M. heavy skirmish fire to left and front. Soon moved on and charged the Yanks. They had three feeble lines of works and a main line.

We drove them to the main work and occupying their second line poured in a fire. Presently a part of our brigade rushed up, with a yell, really without any order, some private, in his excitement, having sung out, "Forward". We found the line given up and took possession. But we were only a few, having no troops either to right or left. There was some irresolution, owing to there being really no commander. Col. Christian assumed command, but showed his inability by first ordering the men to the rear at the suggestion of a Lieutenant, and immediately ordering them back at the command of a private. The men were all mixed up. The men of our battalion determined to hold the works as long as possible.

Presently the Yanks charged in heavy force. We threw in a volley which staggered them. But they got to the trench and finding we had only a Corporal's guard to oppose a division we had to yield.

We were taken to the rear and slept that night in the rain.

Aug. 20. Marched to army Headquarters (about 7 m.) then to a Station on City Pt. R. R. (2 1/2 m.) when we had to wait about 2 hrs. in a heavy rain. Took cars and reached City Point after dark. Here we were again without shelter and without fire to dry ourselves. We have now been wet and lying in the mud for three days.

Aug. 21. Wake up feeling decidedly uncomfortable. We are in the common guard house, in which are some of the lowest characters, as well as negroes. Many had things stolen from them and one had his pockets slit and rifled.

Aug. 22. Had an accession to our ranks, from the fight of the 19th, but they bring us little news, though all the rumors I have heard are in our favor. Towards night, rained again, though I kept all, except one side, dry. Passed an uncomfortable night.





Aug. 23. Still in this old guard house, which is now crowded. We can not get in a much worse place, so I trust we will leave soon. About 3 1/2 P. M., much to my delight, we were ordered in ranks and soon found ourselves aboard the "Utica", which was at least pretty clean.

When last I was here, Sept. 26th, '63, it was on a more pleasant errand, for then I was transferred from a "U. S." to a "C. S." vessel.

I did not then expect so soon to have the reverse enacted. Dropped anchor about 35 m. above Fortress Monroe and laid by till morning.

Aug. 24. Soon after daybreak weighed anchor and started down the river. Passed Fortress Monroe a little after nine and reached Pt. Lookout about 7 P. M. Were marched into a long pen, made by a high plank fence, where I passed a comfortable night, and enjoyed the salt water breeze very much, in spite of my position as prisoner.

Aug. 25. Wake up to find we had blacks to guard us. This is the first time we have been under negro guard.

When the relief went round I saw a negro corpl. marching to relieve a white one.

Marched to the Provost Marshal's. Roll called and we examined. Then carried to the prisoners' camp, and put up tents. (Note 41).

Jim Pearson took the position of Sergeant of the Co. and the Corporal gave him two small A tents in which he, Gallagher, Edelen and I took our abode. I think we can make ourselves pretty comfortable.

Met several of our old acquaintances and fellow soldiers. Billy Laird (? not plain in diary) asked us to supper and though camp fare, with the exception of coffee, we enjoyed it very much, being decidedly hungry. His coffee with white sugar was splendid. We have commenced very favorably. (Note 42).

Aug. 26. Went down to the Bay at sunrise and took a salt water bath for the first time since the war commenced. I enjoyed it. The Yankee Corpl. having charge of the Division moved the Co. up the line, which gave us some trouble, but we made some little by it.

Billy Laird very kindly sent us a present of a plateful of fish, which we fried and our mess of four had a fine dinner (or breakfast, for we had not time to eat before). Fishing seems a great occupation here. In the day the Bay is open to us and on its shore you can see all phases. Some bathing, some fishing, either from wharves, or standing waist deep in water, some playing cards, and many keeping shops.

All trades have their place here.





Aug. 27. Pearson managed to get some plank and we raised our rear tent and put up a bunk. W. and I started ours, but night overtook us ere it was finished. I think we can make ourselves pretty comfortable. Absence of money is the chief difficulty.

Aug. 28. No service, as a minister is, I believe, not allowed in here now. Passed quietly, but I fear not very profitably.

Aug. 29. W. and I, though both quite unwell, finished our bunk. Today I had a long fever and dumb chill, the first fever I recollect having during the last four years, except while wounded.

Pearson got some old canvas and we finished our rear tent. We have not material for raising the front one.

Sept. 2. Raised our front tent, boarding in front and making a door. Also I put shelves and door to our box for a cupboard.

Sept. 3 (4th). The second Sabbath I have passed here. How time flies! even in captivity.

Had the regular Sunday inspection, when all fall in facing inwards, and the Inspector, Brady, Barnes, or both, ride down the ranks. Have not yet heard from any of my friends. I do not quite understand it.

Sept. 6. Damp, drizzly day, wind N. E.

Rather unpleasant for a man without a jacket. But with the dashing waves it sounds familiar. Were I at home, I could enjoy it. With just fire enough to keep out the dampness, it would, from contrast, be pleasant. Not so, here.

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### THIRD BOOK OF DIARY

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Sept. 9. Whole camp turned out and massed; for the purpose of calling out about 1/2 doz. navy men, and for Maj. Brady to make a speech.

On such occasions all pack up and are marched out, not knowing what is wanted, nor who is going to leave.

Sept. 11. W. E. received a box containing ham, butter, &c., which we are enjoying amazingly. After the diet we have had here, it proves a blessing.

Sept. 13. Have not yet heard from mother, which, to say the least, is strange.





Sept. 14. Dr. and Mrs. E. came to see W. E. and brought him a champagne basket of grapes and peaches.

Sept. 17. Received a box of clothing, also tobacco and some small affairs which I needed.

Sept. 20. Heard from mother yesterday.

Getting along pretty well. But I grow more impatient every day under my imprisonment. Whenever I look upon the Bay, or hear the rolling waves, I long for a boat, in which to leave this place. But it is a vain longing.

Today mother came down. I was with her nearly all day. This was a pleasure I had not expected. I heard of the many tokens of love held for me. I could not but feel sad, a sadness in which there was something of pleasure. She brought me clothes, fruits, candies, and wine from my cousins.

Sept. 21. Received a letter from B. B. (Ed. Betty Blakeston). She wrote before, but the letter was destroyed and a slip sent in to me. To a wanderer or a prisoner how sweet and grateful are kind and loving letters.

Kip Deale died in the camp hospital of pneumonia.

Thelin arrived in camp, having been arrested while in the county. He reports that Ridge Howard lost his leg. Som. Gill, (4th Corpl.) was for some days in command of the Company.

Sept. 25. Last night we enjoyed the music of the band, Yankee though it is.

The band, and the drum corps at reveille and tattoo, are all that give me pleasure here.

They remind me of "Dixie", without pressing upon me the idea that I am a prisoner. They sound natural.

Oct. 2. The last two days we have had a rainy, drizzly Northeaster. It gives us an inkling of what we may expect this winter.

Three things we will have to contend against, bleakness, mud and water.

The pumps here offer a variety. One gives sulphur, another isinglass, another copperas, all a mixture and all bad. We, by good fortune, get water from the commissary pump, which is the best the "Pen" affords.

Oct. 7. W. E. has dubbed our hut "Bleak House", very appropriate as regards "Bleak".





He and Phil. E. went out today to get their likeness taken. I went with them, and from the photograph gallery we went to an eating shanty, where we dined off cod-fish balls, ham, bread, butter and coffee. Enjoyed it as a variety. Disgusted by the manners of the negroes in the adjoining room, a sutler's shop. They called themselves "gentlemen" and the **sutler** treated them as though there was no difference between white and black.

Oct. 8. Went this evening to hear the glee club. Some of the songs were very good and helped to pass off the evening very pleasantly.

Oct. 9. Last night, the wind being high, I was waked up to find the tent about blowing down. We set it up, but not being secure, it soon roused us again. This time it got the upper hand and came down with a crash. So we crawled in bed under it and rested till morning. Day broke cold.

All day a N. W. wind has been blowing and it has been very cold for this season.

It gives us a good idea of what we may expect.

Oct. 19. Sec. of W., Maj. Gen. Augur and Brig. Meigs paid a flying visit through camp, in a carry-all and four. Object unknown.

Oct. 20. All tents taken down and houses moved. A search. In this men, dressed as Confederates, were used that the real searchers might not be recognized. We commenced building a plank house. Put up all except upper part of the gable ends. (Note 43).

Oct. 21. Put up bunks and added a little to the house. We are in a fair way to make ourselves comfortable.

Oct. 22. Finished our house.

Oct. 24. Marched out and massed between the cook-houses. Supposed object to search for blankets. In truth it was a Yankee trick. All who remained in their huts, being supposed sick, were sent to the hospital and paroled for Dixie.

We left "Gally" in our house to take care of things. By his usual good luck, he is paroled, while we remain.

Somewhat depressed at night because we were not so fortunate.

Oct. 25. There being some chance of our getting off, all in our house have been decidedly nervous all day. We failed, but hope on.

Oct. 31. **Callagher** having left, we fell heir to the stove he sent for. Today we received it. I set it up.

Nov. 19. There is little of interest here for a diary. But I can not pass over a jovial Irishman of this Co. (B, 6th Div.).





John Bowland gives me a good idea of Irish humor. He relates many anecdotes of his youthful days. This is one:

Being told to ride a mule, he was rather fearful of his heels and also of being thrown.

To avoid being kicked, he carries the mule into a bog, up to his belly. Then he gets on back foremost, hugs his belly with his heels and the flanks with his hands. Off starts the mule and getting on the road, goes at full speed.

Jack thinks he can't get him off. But the mule suddenly turns and throws him on his back several rods off, making him see "a castle of fire" all round. But writing his jokes takes away half the humor. Every night he has a new one and never seems at fault.

One of his best describes his trip to Dublin. While on the way a stranger meeting him, calls his name. He takes for granted he must have known him somewhere and gets quite sociable. At a tannery in Dublin he becomes drunk and is stripped of his clothes, except his shirt and put to bed. After a while, in come two men who want to know what he is doing in their bed. He says, "The master put me here", and without more ado they pitch him out the window. He happens to fall on a pile of hides. A bull dog rushes at him, and he wraps the hides about him, to keep from being bitten. A policeman comes up to see what is the matter, and rescues him from the dog, but says he ought to take him to the watch-house. However, he tells him which way to go and lets him slip.

Soon he falls in with some robbers, who take him to a graveyard. Here they make him go down into a vault to take the rings from a corpse lately entombed.

Another party, coming for the same purpose, puts the first to flight.

The second comes and one is chosen to go down. Jack raises the corpse and so frightens him that the party leaves without the rings. He takes possession of them and proceeds on his way.

Passing near a lunatic asylum, it being now light, he tries to get information of the way, of a man coming up the street.

But when he approaches the man the latter crosses the street and continues to dodge him until Jack calls out, "Och! man, what ails you, I only want to ask you a question."

But the man seeing him so near the Asylum, with only a shirt on thought him mad and would not come near him, but told him the way. Jack left Dublin the next day, having bought a suit of clothes with the rings, thinking he had seen enough of city life.





I saw today, for the first time, an explosive musket-ball, or musket shell. I have often heard them explode near me; and insisted upon it, until lately, when never having seen one and never having met one who had seen them, I began to think my ears had deceived me. But now there is no doubt.

The ball contains a hollow cone, of hard metal, filled with explosive matter.

Nov. 28. Had inspection and a grand search for blankets, it being the intention of the Provost Marshal to allow but one to the man. In the 10th Div. they secured a good many. But in the rest of the Camp I think Mr. Yank was decidedly euchered.

I saw some pretty side games played.

Nov. 30. Pearson, W. Edelen and I went to the graveyard to put tombstones at T. N. Deal's grave.

The burying ground is outside the stockade, about 1 1/2 or 1 1/4 miles distant. (Note 44).

We enjoyed the walk, but would have enjoyed it more could we have had any but a negro guard with us. How we would have liked to have kept on!

Dec. 22. Today with two others, "flanked" Maj. B. and saw Miss A. E. and Miss M. S. With the exception of Mother they are the only ladies of St. Mary's I have seen since May, 1861. Their reception of me was too cordial not to be sincere.

It pleased me to find that four years of exile had not wiped me from their thoughts. (Note 45).

Two days since I received a box from De la Brooke, containing with other things a roast pig, two turkeys, two rounds of beef and two hams. After a little manoeuvring I succeeded in getting all in. At the same time W. E. received a nice box. (Note 46).

So we are pretty well supplied for the present. Having been lately down to nothing but fat bacon, bread and coffee, we like the change immensely.

Dec. 24. P. E. and I flanked Maj. B. again and enjoyed ourselves with the ladies very much.

He might as well have let us see them in the ordinary manner. Seeing them was a pleasure I had not expected and I enjoyed it accordingly. I hope I may see the like again.

Dec. 25. Xmas. My fourth away from home. I, therefore, necessarily dull.



1. The first thing I noticed when I stepped out of the plane was the cold air. It was a sharp contrast to the warm air of the plane. I had heard that the weather in the mountains was cold, but I didn't realize how cold it would be. I was wearing a light jacket, and I was not prepared for the cold. I had to buy a heavy coat at the first store I saw. I was also surprised by the silence. I had heard that the mountains were noisy, but I didn't realize how quiet it would be. I was alone, and I was not used to being alone. I had to find a place to stay, and I had to find food. I was in a strange place, and I was not used to being there. I was not used to the cold, the silence, or the solitude. I was not used to being alone in a strange place. I was not used to being alone in a strange place.

2. The second thing I noticed was the beauty of the mountains. The mountains were so beautiful, and I had never seen anything like them before. The mountains were so high, and the peaks were so sharp. The mountains were so green, and the valleys were so deep. The mountains were so quiet, and the silence was so perfect. I was in a beautiful place, and I was not used to being there. I was not used to the beauty of the mountains. I was not used to the beauty of the mountains.

3. The third thing I noticed was the people. The people were so friendly, and I had never met anyone like them before. The people were so kind, and they were so helpful. The people were so warm, and they were so welcoming. I was in a warm place, and I was not used to being there. I was not used to the warmth of the people. I was not used to the warmth of the people.

4. The fourth thing I noticed was the food. The food was so delicious, and I had never eaten anything like it before. The food was so good, and it was so healthy. The food was so fresh, and it was so tasty. I was in a delicious place, and I was not used to being there. I was not used to the deliciousness of the food. I was not used to the deliciousness of the food.

5. The fifth thing I noticed was the view. The view was so beautiful, and I had never seen anything like it before. The view was so wide, and the mountains were so high. The view was so green, and the valleys were so deep. I was in a beautiful place, and I was not used to being there. I was not used to the beauty of the view. I was not used to the beauty of the view.

6. The sixth thing I noticed was the silence. The silence was so perfect, and I had never experienced anything like it before. The silence was so deep, and it was so peaceful. The silence was so quiet, and it was so soothing. I was in a quiet place, and I was not used to being there. I was not used to the silence. I was not used to the silence.

7. The seventh thing I noticed was the solitude. The solitude was so perfect, and I had never experienced anything like it before. The solitude was so deep, and it was so peaceful. The solitude was so quiet, and it was so soothing. I was in a quiet place, and I was not used to being there. I was not used to the solitude. I was not used to the solitude.

8. The eighth thing I noticed was the beauty of the mountains. The mountains were so beautiful, and I had never seen anything like them before. The mountains were so high, and the peaks were so sharp. The mountains were so green, and the valleys were so deep. I was in a beautiful place, and I was not used to being there. I was not used to the beauty of the mountains. I was not used to the beauty of the mountains.

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11. The eleventh thing I noticed was the view. The view was so beautiful, and I had never seen anything like it before. The view was so wide, and the mountains were so high. The view was so green, and the valleys were so deep. I was in a beautiful place, and I was not used to being there. I was not used to the beauty of the view. I was not used to the beauty of the view.

12. The twelfth thing I noticed was the silence. The silence was so perfect, and I had never experienced anything like it before. The silence was so deep, and it was so peaceful. The silence was so quiet, and it was so soothing. I was in a quiet place, and I was not used to being there. I was not used to the silence. I was not used to the silence.

13. The thirteenth thing I noticed was the solitude. The solitude was so perfect, and I had never experienced anything like it before. The solitude was so deep, and it was so peaceful. The solitude was so quiet, and it was so soothing. I was in a quiet place, and I was not used to being there. I was not used to the solitude. I was not used to the solitude.

14. The fourteenth thing I noticed was the beauty of the mountains. The mountains were so beautiful, and I had never seen anything like them before. The mountains were so high, and the peaks were so sharp. The mountains were so green, and the valleys were so deep. I was in a beautiful place, and I was not used to being there. I was not used to the beauty of the mountains. I was not used to the beauty of the mountains.

Spent much of the day in imagining what was going on among my friends, which was not very cheering, knowing I was so near and could not join them.

Mr. Pacciovini and W. Laird took dinner with us. For this place, we managed to have a very good dinner, thanks to our friends who sent the boxes.

Dec. 31. 1864 has passed. I commenced it in Richmond on parole, and end it at Pt. Lookout, in prison. I trust I may not pass another like it; though it has not been devoid of pleasure.

May I pass the coming year better, for myself and others!

1865

Jan. 1. Another year has commenced and finds me in prison. This is galling to my feelings; and yet may it not in the end prove a blessing? I know not, and yet I trust so. But I hope ere very long to be again in the South, and I trust, on duty.

Jan. 17. A load went to "Dixie". This kept us rather excited, but none of our house were fortunate enough to get off.

But another boat is expected to go next week.

Jan. 24. There has been much wire working, &c. to get to Dixie. Since the 17th a good deal of excitement. We see no preparations for a call yet, but there is a general belief that there will be one.

Feb. 7. Great excitement during the last four days. Brady is allowing application for exchange and many of them are approved. W. E. has gone out. I have an application in, but have not heard from it.

Feb. 9. W. E. has been paroled and expects to leave tonight. I was too late.

But I hope I will go on the next boat, which "they say" will leave in a few days.

Feb. 17. All day in Pro. Marshal's office, making duplicate parole rolls. Funny work for a "reb" -- but we were promised exchange.

Fearing this might fail, I took another chance by paying \$50 for four of us. On this we were paroled. But the other would have succeeded, for Jim Pearson got off by clerking as I. Went into the parole camp through mud ankle deep, and found it hard to find any solid ground to lie upon.

Feb. 18. First part of last night raining, which made it rather uncomfortable, but I got along pretty well. Laid in blankets until called for exchange. Moved out and with three days' rations put aboard the "New York". This morning, though cloudy, gave me pleasure. The sun, after rising behind a dark cloud, shone through light clouds





in a peculiar manner, so that it appeared a quivering mass of molten silver. I never saw it appear so before. About 5 P. M. started for Dixie, much to my joy.

Maj. B. got the best of me sometimes, but on the whole I think I euchered him.

I hope to debark in Dixie tomorrow.

Boat much crowded; but just as I was thinking of a night spent nodding in my seat, some were ordered down into the gentlemen's cabin. I being one went down and had a berth to stretch out in.

Feb. 19. Sunday. Arrived at Aken's Landing about 8 A. M. and laid alongside a steamer at the wharf waiting for debarkation.

A report that our (C. S.) boat has blown up. Know not the truth.

Feb. 20. 8 A. M. Debarked and marched to Cox's Landing, ( 2 m.) and took our boat for Richmond.

The sight of our flag was indeed cheering after six months with the Yankees.

Arrived in R. about 2 P. M., and having met some of my friends, went to G.'s office and then to Mrs. Crouche's and engaged board for a few days. Prices are about four times what they were when I was here last, so I must get out of the city.

Feb. 25. Made arrangements to go to Westmoreland, or rather Essex, with W. E. in one of a Govt. train of wagons.

Feb. 27. Disappointed, train did not go. So we left by R. P. & F. R. R. for Milford Station at 3 1/2 P. M. 6 1/2 P. M. arrived and stopped with Mr. Carniel. On the way lost my only cap, which I had made at Pt. Lookout. Carniel's son found me an old one for which I gave him \$10.00, but he returned \$5. It is better than none.

Feb. 28. Sorry to find it raining. Changed a \$30 piece. Started at 8 A. M. passing through Bowling Green (3 m.) and Trap (10 m.) to Port Royal (18 m.). 5 m. from Port Royal stopped at Rev. Mr. G. W. Trace's house.

He treated us very hospitably.

At P. R. met Capt. Duval and Jno. Post, just from Md. Stopped with Mr. Lightfoot.

Willie was acquainted with his daughters.

He was one of the gentlemen who met our party at the ferry, when coming over in 1861. Met Mrs. L., Miss Harriet (Hal) L., Miss Maria





(Bob) L. and Miss Mittie Rob, from Norfolk. They were extremely hospitable and kind. We spent a very pleasant evening.

March 1. Breakfasted late and left about 11 1/2 A. M. They called us back to give us some buttered biscuits to take with us.

At the Ferry met Walter Jeemes, who led us across the country by his house, 7 m. from Port Conway. The family insisted upon our taking dinner.

After dinner went through Oak Grove.

Not getting lodgings we pushed on and stopped with Capt. Baxter, about 3/4 m. from O. G. and 1/4 m. from road.

He would take no pay.

March 2. Left about 8 A. M. Soon commenced raining pretty hard. About 5 m. stopped at a small house to dry. Received very kindly.

Went up the hill to Mr. Chas. Green's. Received very kindly, and remained to breakfast next day.

March 3. Arrived at Westmoreland C. H. (Montross) and took dinner. Saw several acquaintances and called on Dr. Spalding and wife. Left his house about 4 P. M. and pushed on to the ferry. About 1/2 m. from ferry stopped with Capt. Weaver and were treated very kindly. 14 m.

March 4. After breakfast crossed Norning ferry and made "The Glebe", Wm. Chandler's, about 5 m. Very kindly welcomed.

March 11. W. E., Misses N. and K. and I rowed to Mr. Bronson's and from there walked to Mr. T. Rice's. The walking was very muddy and caused much amusement.

March 12. Yanks landed at Kinsale. All thought it advisable for the gentlemen to go in the woods which we did, much against my will, though I saw the advisability of it.

March 13. Three of us went on a scout, but found no news. About 7 P. M. heard the Yanks had returned having been met by 18 of Mosby's men. Spent the evening at Dr. Tyler's. About 9 P. M. returned and found we could not get out the creek on account of the tide.

Went ashore and enjoyed a promenade on "Point of Laughter" at mouth of Jackson's Creek.

11 1/2 P. M. Mr. Bell and I pushed the boat over the shoals, my bare-legged appearance causing some laughter.

March 14. Went sailing with the ladies, and afterwards W. and I went alone. Enjoyed both very much.





March 15. Returned to The Glebe. On Mr. Bronson's shore had to wait some time for boat, and had a pleasant tete-a-tete.

March 16. Saw notice of "Exchange" dated 4th March.

March 17. Much against my inclination left The Glebe for camp. My visit had been so pleasant I disliked shortening it.

Stopped at Blakiston's and Mr. Hungerford's.

5 1/2 P. M. reached Mr. Hannibal Chandler's (Windsor). Spent the evening at Mr. Spence's with Dr. and Mrs. Spalding and Miss Mollie Hungerford. Returned to Windsor. 11 m.

March 18. After breakfast left. Mrs. C. put up a nice snack for us. At C. H. joined by F. Simms. 3 P. M. reached Leyton's ferry.

No one coming across for us we took possession of a boat and rowed across, regardless of the owner. 2 m. further stopped with Mr. Brooke. 14 m.

March 19. Attended service at Vawter's Church 1 m. from Loretto and 2 from Mr. B.'s. This church was built in 1731.

After service continued our march, taking dinner at Mr. Watts' and spending the night with Mr. J. H. Marten. 12 m.

March 20. 1 P. M. reached Milford Station. The bridges being burned, no train.

The hand car left before we arrived, causing us to lay over all night, against our wish. About 5 P. M. an extra car went down on which we engaged passage.

Went to Polecat Station. 5 m.

Mr. Hugh Chandler, a refugee from Portsmouth, kindly invited us to his house, 2 m. from Polecat Station and 1 m. from Henry George's Crossing. Spent a pleasant evening. 14 m.

March 21. On hand car to North Anna. Walked 1 m. beyond South Anna and took dinner at Mr. Wm. H. Winston's. Stayed till cars came and proceeded to Richmond. Arrived about 8 1/2 P. M.

Found George at Mrs. Crouche's, messing by himself. W. E. and I joined him for the time we are to stay. Our visit is among the things of the past. Many pleasant recollections will hover around it, though for me it had a drawback.

March 24. 9 A. M. Left by R. & P. R. R. for camp. Walked from Dunlap's about 9 m.

Found all looking well and more comfortable than I expected.





Lieut. Zollinger being on picket, threw me in command of the Company.

Just after I laid down orders came to pack up. About 10 1/2 P. M. moved, passed through Petersburg and halted about 3 A. M. 9 m.

March 25. Moved into trenches 1 m. Heavy cannonading. We took three forts and between 500 and 1000 prisoners, and returned. Our brigade not in. Moved back to camp and in about 15 minutes ordered to trenches on right, the Yanks having taken our skirmish line. 12 m.

March 26. Still in the trenches. I have had decidedly an unpleasant initiation.

Pearson came back. Lieut. Z. took command of camp. Battalion returned to camp. I detailed to stay in trenches. 1 m.

March 27. I returned to camp and had a quiet day.

March 28. 4 P. M. Ordered out and manned some works as on 25th, or rather a little further to the right, in front the houses occupied by the right of Davis' brigade. 2nd and 4th Miss Regts. Our battalion has orders to take possession of them.

March 29. Billy Laird and Thelin came up.

About 4 P. M. cannonading on right.

We are ordered to fall in at breastworks.

About dark, to quarters.

March 30. 2 1/2 A. M. roused. Moved a little to left. Heavy showers made it quite unpleasant.

However, about day, most took shelter in McCree's quarters, a sentinel being placed at the works. About 3 1/2 P. M. firing on right, extended to our front and we were ordered to the works. Near sunset all quiet. Went to quarters.

March 31. On picket line. Raining and the ground very wet. Firing on the right. Afternoon cleared.

April 1. Saturday. 4 A. M. A charge on the right. Our battalion engaged. Rumors, but not much news. Not much chance of our being relieved, as the battalion is in the captured pits and can't get out.

Lt. returned to camp about 7 P. M.

April 2. Sunday. Midnight I went on post and found heavy cannonading on left.



1. The first part of the report deals with the general situation of the country.

2. The second part of the report deals with the economic situation of the country.

3. The third part of the report deals with the social situation of the country.

4. The fourth part of the report deals with the political situation of the country.

5. The fifth part of the report deals with the cultural situation of the country.

6. The sixth part of the report deals with the environmental situation of the country.

7. The seventh part of the report deals with the international situation of the country.

8. The eighth part of the report deals with the future of the country.

9. The ninth part of the report deals with the conclusion of the report.

10. The tenth part of the report deals with the annexes of the report.

11. The eleventh part of the report deals with the bibliography of the report.

12. The twelfth part of the report deals with the index of the report.

13. The thirteenth part of the report deals with the list of figures of the report.

14. The fourteenth part of the report deals with the list of tables of the report.

15. The fifteenth part of the report deals with the list of abbreviations of the report.

16. The sixteenth part of the report deals with the list of symbols of the report.

17. The seventeenth part of the report deals with the list of references of the report.

3 A. M. A charge made on left of brigade by Yanks and repulsed. At one time our portion of the line commenced firing, but soon stopped, and immediately a talk started between "Billy" and "Johnny". (Note 47).

5 1/2 A. M. Yanks broke through our picket line 1/2 mile to our left, and charged the breastworks. We had scarcely any men in them. They took them and turned our cannon upon our left. Our portion of the line fell back to main line, but were ordered out again. In a few minutes after we went into the pits we found we had Yanks on all sides but the right flank. Tried to get out that way and found ourselves completely surrounded and the Capt. commanding said it was useless to show fight. Hence about 7 A. M. found myself again a prisoner, having been on duty only 16 days after exchange. (Note 48).

Truly in this respect I am unfortunate. It is a sad way of having my birthday celebrated. About 3 P. M. arrived at City Point and at 6 P. M. went aboard the boat, "Metamora".

April 3. 11 A. M. reached Point Lookout.

I was recognized by many Yanks I had scarcely spoken to when here. They had a good laugh at my coming back so soon. Arrived in camp I was made Sergeant of a company of 100.

April 14. Thinking we had lumber enough, commenced building. Boards gave out, but we got nearly all boarded in except gables of roof. Put old tent and a piece of fly on for roofing.

April 25. Heard of Geo. Gill's death. He died on the 6th inst. of wound in the neck, (the ball passing into the lung) received 28th March, near Berryville, Clarke Co., Va. A skirmish, only 7 men engaged.

Received some sausage meat, butter, &c., from Mother through the kindness of Mr. Jones and Capt. Barnes.

April 27. Put up bunks, Mr. Trenix having offered to trust us for the boards, &c. This makes us a little more comfortable, and more respectable in appearance.

May 3. Today the oath-taking has been brought to a system, and made general. I doubt whether twenty will refuse. I can not come to it yet, whatever may be. But I am decidedly unsettled.

May 4. Myself and eight others went out at the last moment and registered, to avoid having our names sent to War Department as positively refusing at this time. But I have not decided, by any means.

May 26. Made Sergt. Major of Division.





1893

May 1. So ends my diary of the time spent in the Civil War, or War of Secession, of 1861-65. I have transcribed it, not rewritten it. Day by day it was written, often when I could only jot down a few words. There was no attempt to write it for others to read, but only as something for myself to refer to if needed, or for those who, after the war, should care to know of my wanderings. I now transcribe it for my boys. (Note 49).

J. WM. THOMAS

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May 1, 1894.

My diary stops at May 26, 1865. Lee had surrendered 9th April. The war was over. Lincoln had been killed. The oath taking was made a matter of necessity. Orders came from the War Department at Washington that all who would take the oath should be sent home; that those who refused should be sent to Washington to be placed in solitary confinement, or close confinement. Believing the war over and nothing to be gained by refusing, few failed to go up as their time came.

Some did. From among them, myself and four or five others whose names I do not remember, were sent to Genl. Barnes, commanding the Post, to confer with him, or rather to seek information of him. He kindly received us and said his orders were such as stated above. That if we positively refused to take the oath as offered, he would have to send us to Washington, and once in confinement we might lie there and rot while Congress decided what to do with us.

We then asked whether, under such circumstances, he thought the oath would be taken in good faith. He answered very emphatically, No, and added, "I think to take the oath to support the U. S. Government should be considered an honor, but to thrust such an oath as this down a man's throat is a disgrace, and I would have no respect for any man who took it in good faith", (or as binding, or words to that effect). I think the above are his words. My memory of the scene is very clear. Genl. Barnes was an old U. S. A. officer, and in all showed the gentleman, and that he felt a pride in the service, but not in all that had been done in the name of the service of late years. We then asked him, after telling him our feeling, &c., what he would advise us to do, as honorable men and soldiers. He said there was nothing to do, in view of what he had already told us of the Orders, &c., except to go through the form of oath-taking.

We went back and reported the conversation to our comrades and all sent in our names to be added to the list. Some time about the middle of June I was turned loose and took my way up the road, passed the Stockade and so went home, sad indeed with the thought that the Cause was lost.







*J. W. Thomas*





APPENDIX

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EXTRACTS FROM MARDEN'S DIARY  
OF THE TIME I WAS A PRISONER

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1863

July 3. After 2nd charge fell back to the stream. The Yanks decline fighting us.

July 4. Leave the foot of the hill at 7 A. M. Quietly recross the stream and fall back to a hill in front of town. Throw up breastworks.

No attack. 12 M. leave and march 5 m. towards Hagerstown. Day's march 5 1/2 m.

July 5. 4 P. M. Move towards Hagerstown and bivouac 21 m. from it. Rough traveling through fields and roads. Mud up to our knees. 5 m.

July 6. March and cross the mountains. Encamp at Waynesboro, Pa. 12 m.

July 7. March 7 1/2 m. towards H. Encamp 2 1/2 m. from H.

Battalion go on picket. 9 m.

July 8. Picket relieved. Day's march 1 1/2 m.

July 10. Battalion on Picket, about 3 P. M. Ordered in about 6 P. M. and march towards H. Pass through the town and encamp 3 m. from Williamsport. 5 m.

July 11. Form line of battle and put up breastworks.

July 12. Continue working.

July 13. Still behind breastworks awaiting Yanks. Enemy's line of battle 1 1/2 m. distant.

Skirmishers engaged. Enemy fall back. Pretty hungry. 8 1/2 P. M. march towards Williamsport. Make 6 m.





July 14. Tedious traveling all night of 13th. Daybreak made canal and Potomac, the latter to our arm pits. Encamp 4 1/2 m. above.

Falling Waters. Now 3 1/2 m. from Martinsburg, having marched 9 m.

July 15. Pass through M. and take pike to left. Encamp above Darkesville. 10 m.

July 16. Encamped in woods near D. 15 m. from W.

July 20. Our Brigade march back 1 m. below M. and tear up track of B. & O. R. R. 8 m.

July 21. Back to camp near Darksville. 11 m.

July 22. Move and encamp 3 m. below W. 13 m.

July 23. Through W. take Front Royal road. Cross Shenandoah on pontoons. Artillery firing. Yanks on side of Mt. Move towards Chester Gap where they are fighting. Counter-march and encamp near F. R. 26 m.

July 24. Through Front Royal, take Luray road and encamp 13 m. from F. R. "A", "G" and "B" on picket 1 m. back. 15 m.

July 25. 9 m. towards Luray. 9 m.

July 27. Sperryville road, pass Blue Ridge through Thornton's Gap. Encamp near S. 14 m.

July 28. Through Sp. towards Madison C. H. Encamp on hill surrounded by Mts. 10 m.

July 29. Encamp 1/2 m. from Robinson River. 6 m.

July 31. Ford Madison river and pass through M. C. H. Encamp 3 m. from it on road to Orange C. H. 7 m.

Aug. 1. Encamp 3 m. from Orange C. H. 15 m.

Aug. 6. Move camp 3/4 m. 3/4 m.

Aug. 20. A beautiful tribute to the memory of Capt. Murray by Genl. Stewart, read to us on dress parade.

Aug. 23. Inspection. Md. Battalion cleanest guns and accoutrements in the brigade.

Sept. 3. Receive a new battle flag inscribed with Winchester No. 2 and Gettysburg.

Sept. 11. "A" 3 1/2 m. at Jack's Shop, on picket. 3 1/2 m.





Sept. 13. Ordered to cook rations. Picket relieved. 3 1/2 m.

Fighting at Culpepper.

Sept. 14. March 1 m. beyond Orange C. H. 4 m.

Sept. 15. Our camps move back 1/4 m. above O. C. H. 1 1/4 m.

Sept. 19. Through O. C. H. by roundabout way to Mitchell's Ford. A, B and C on picket, 21 m.

Sept. 20. Relieved. 3/4 m.

Sept. 21. Battalion working on fortifications. We are at Morton's Ford. See Yankee pickets plainly.

Sept. 22. 50 volunteers, from our brigade, cross the river, drive back pickets and capture 100 head of sheep and other cattle.

Sept. 23. Move back into woods into camp.

Sept. 25. Company on picket 3/4 m.

Sept. 26. Relieved 3/4 m. 1 1/2 m.

Sept. 31. Battalion on picket.

Oct. 1. Relieved. 1 1/2 m.

Oct. 6. Battalion on picket, and fire on Yankee pickets. 3/4 m.

Oct. 7, Relieved 3/4 m.

Oct. 8. Pack up in a hurry. 3/4 m. and march 11 m. halting 8 m. fr. O. C. H. 11 m.

Oct. 9. Pass through O. C. H. towards Madison C. H. Halt 5 m. from Jack's Shop. Trying to flank the Yankees. 20 m.

Oct. 10. 18 miles towards Culpepper C. H. 18 m.

Oct. 11. March 7 miles. 7 m.

Oct. 12. Forded Hazle River, crossed the Rappahannock on a "Yank" bridge. Encamped at Warrenton Springs. 18 m.

Cav. fighting Yanks trying to destroy bridge but were driven back.

Oct. 13. Pass through Warrenton and halt 1 m. beyond. 8 m.

Oct. 14. Firing in front. March 3 m. Our Division in reserve. Rhodes drives the Yanks. We double quick to within 2 m. of Bristoe Sta. 18 m.



1. The first part of the paper is devoted to the study of the properties of the function  $f(x)$  defined by the equation

$$f(x) = \int_0^x f(t) dt + \int_0^x g(t) dt$$

where  $g(x)$  is a given function. It is shown that the function  $f(x)$  is continuous and differentiable.

2. In the second part of the paper, we consider the problem of the existence and uniqueness of the solution of the initial value problem

$$y' = f(x, y), \quad y(x_0) = y_0$$

where  $f(x, y)$  is a continuous function satisfying the Lipschitz condition.

3. In the third part of the paper, we study the properties of the solution of the boundary value problem

$$y' = f(x, y), \quad y(x_0) = y_0, \quad y(x_1) = y_1$$

where  $f(x, y)$  is a continuous function satisfying the Lipschitz condition.

4. In the fourth part of the paper, we consider the problem of the existence and uniqueness of the solution of the initial value problem

$$y' = f(x, y), \quad y(x_0) = y_0$$

where  $f(x, y)$  is a continuous function satisfying the Lipschitz condition.

5. In the fifth part of the paper, we study the properties of the solution of the initial value problem

$$y' = f(x, y), \quad y(x_0) = y_0$$

where  $f(x, y)$  is a continuous function satisfying the Lipschitz condition.

6. In the sixth part of the paper, we consider the problem of the existence and uniqueness of the solution of the initial value problem

$$y' = f(x, y), \quad y(x_0) = y_0$$

where  $f(x, y)$  is a continuous function satisfying the Lipschitz condition.

7. In the seventh part of the paper, we study the properties of the solution of the initial value problem

$$y' = f(x, y), \quad y(x_0) = y_0$$

where  $f(x, y)$  is a continuous function satisfying the Lipschitz condition.

8. In the eighth part of the paper, we consider the problem of the existence and uniqueness of the solution of the initial value problem

$$y' = f(x, y), \quad y(x_0) = y_0$$

where  $f(x, y)$  is a continuous function satisfying the Lipschitz condition.

Oct. 16. To Bristoe Station. 1 1/2 m.

Oct. 17. Tearing railroad. 4 m.

Oct. 18. By Warrenton Junction to a woods 3 m. from Rappahannock.  
15 m.

Oct. 19. Crossed the river. 5 m. Marched 125 m. on this trip after Meade.

Oct. 21. Cross river and build breastworks. 3 m.

Oct. 23. Encamp 2 1/2 m. below Brandy Sta. 8 m.

Oct. 25. Move to a permanent camp 2 miles towards Brandy. 2 m.

Oct. 26. Our brigade goes across river towards Bealetown and have a skirmish. 18 m.

Nov. 1. Orders detaching our Battalion. Complementary orders from Ewell, Johnson and Stewart. We are to go to Hanover Junction.

Nov. 2. At Brandy Sta. take cars, arrive at H. Junction, go to camp and await rest of Md. Line.

Nov. 9. Move camp about 1 m. from Junction on Fredericksburg road. Build winter quarters. 1 m.

(Dist. Co. marched from time I left when wounded until I rejoined it was thus about 394 miles).

Add this 394 miles to  $\frac{836}{1716}$  gives 1230 m. and 2110 m. as number of miles marched by those in Co. A, 2nd Md., and those in both H, 1st Md., and A, 2nd Md. [See page 52.]





## NOTES TO DIARY

Written  
May, 1894

1. The copy of my diary, herein, with the exception of a few minor verbal alterations in the first few pages, is a transcript, not a rewriting, of the diary kept by me during the war of 1861-1865. Hence the brevity and want of formation of sentences.

Movements, &c., usually refer to those of the Regiment, or Battalion, unless otherwise stated; sometimes to the Brigade or Army. Diagonal figures in margin are number of miles marched.

After second year top figures refer to Co. A, 2nd Md. Inf. The bottom ones are miles marched by those who were in both Co. A, 2nd Md., and Co. H, 1st Md.

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2. Maryland companies were first formed in Richmond as "A, B, C and D Md. Guards", commanded by Capt. Dorsey (A), Capt. J. Lysle Clarke (B), Capt. Mich. Robertson (C), and Capt. Wm. H. Murray (D).

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3. Eight Maryland companies formed at Harper's Ferry under Elzey as Colonel, Geo. H. Stewart, Lt. Col., and Bradley T. Johnson, Major. Some were small. I think at this time the regiment was organized making Dorsey's Co., "Co. A", and Murray's Co., "Co. H".

When, on the 26th, Col. Elzey was appointed to command the brigade, G. H. Stewart became Col., Johnson, Lt. Col. and Dorsey, Maj.

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4. After the change we went to the Stone Bridge on the road towards Washington. The men were jubilant, thinking we were going straight on.

When orders came to counter-march the disappointment was great and the men showed it very strongly.

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5. Robertson's Co. came in as "Co. I".

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6. Those re-enlisting at this time were given a furlough. Tom Blakiston and myself, having no especial place to spend it, agreed to go with Capt. Jo. Forrest (of St. Mary's Co.) to Northumberland Co., where Capt. F. had a company of artillery. By helping him to take his horses down we saved him some trouble and ourselves the expense of travelling.

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7. I found it much harder to get used to sleeping in a bed, after being in camp, than the reverse. A first night in camp never gave me a cold, but a bed always did.

I was amused at a young girl here, who seemed to credit any yarns I told her as to how her brother lived in camp, but insisted that she knew he would never sleep on such a bed as I described, one which I had found very comfortable.

It was made by nailing small pine saplings to the head piece of the bunk, with the foot ends free, and a blanket spread over them. It made a sort of spring-bed.

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8. I was on this day assigned by Genl. Stewart to recruiting service in Richmond and while on that duty also acted as adjutant at the prison known as "Castle Thunder", of which Capt. G. W. Alexander was in charge as Asst. Provost Marshal.

I think it was at this time, or perhaps in August '62, when forming Co. A, that Col. Walter Jenifer, afterwards Brig. Genl. pressed me to go with him to W. Va., saying he would at once make me Sergt. Major of the Regt. and felt certain he could get me a commission in one of the companies, within a month. But we were then trying to form a Maryland Line and on account of State pride I felt I ought to remain where I was in order to assist in forming an Infantry regiment, which was considered necessary as a nucleus for the "Line".

I afterwards often regretted that I did not go with Col. J. as I was much better fitted for cavalry than for infantry, and moreover it was found impossible to get the Marylanders together. It was estimated that we had at least twenty thousand men in service, but they were scattered all over the South. In the Army of N. Va. we had one battalion of Inf., two of Cav., and three or four batteries of Art., besides some full companies in Va. regiments.

(Cont. page 93)





Richmond March 14th 1862

Spur. Thomas, Co. "H." 1st Ind.  
Regt. - is assigned to duty on  
Recruiting Service for the Ind.  
Line, in Labl. This City, under  
Genl. Order No. 8. 20th. March.  
Genl's office Feb. 28th. 1862

By order of  
Col. Geo. S. Stewart  
Geo. Thomas.  
Capt. 1st Ind. Regt.

C. R. Mansfield  
Mar 1862

This is to certify that  
Mr. William H. Mansfield  
acting as an Agent

W. H. Mansfield  
Agent





WAR DEPARTMENT,  
ADJUTANT AND INSPECTOR GENERAL'S OFFICE,  
Richmond, February 26, 1862.

GENERAL ORDERS, }  
No. 8.

I. The following Act of Congress, with Regulations of the Secretary of War thereupon, are published for the information of the Army:

*An Act to authorize and provide for the Organization of the Maryland Line.*

"SECT. 1. *The Congress of the Confederate States of America do enact, That all native or adopted citizens of the State of Maryland, who have heretofore volunteered, are now in, or may hereafter volunteer in the service of the Confederate States, may, at their option, be organized and enrolled into companies, squadrons, battalions and regiments, and, with the first Maryland regiment, and several companies now in service, into one or more brigades, to be known as the Maryland Line; said organization to be in accordance with existing laws.*" [Approved February 15, 1862.]

II. In accordance with the requirements of the above act, all Marylanders now in service in the military organizations, other than that of the First Maryland Regiment, will, upon application (proper evidence, setting forth the fact that they are native or adopted Marylanders, being furnished), be transferred to the First Maryland Regiment; or, where the numbers are sufficient, may be organized in companies, squadrons, battalions or regiments, which, with the First Maryland Regiment, will be formed into brigades, to be known as the Maryland Line.

III. Col. George H. Stewart, now commanding the First Maryland Regiment, is assigned to this duty of organization, re-enlisting for his own regiment, and reorganizing from the material obtained by enlistments and transfers, in accordance with the foregoing law—having command of the whole.

By order of the Secretary of War.

S. COOPER,  
Adjutant and Inspector General.

NOTE: the above and the previous page were inserts into the Diary. The insert at top of page 91 reads as follows:

Richmond, March 14th/62

J. Wm. Thomas, Co. "H", 1st Md. Regt. is assigned to duty on recruiting service for the Md. Line, in & abt. this city, under Genl. Orders No. 8, Adjt. & Inspt. Genl's Office Feb. 26th 1862.

By order of

Col. Geo. H. Stewart

Geo. Thomas

Adjt. 1st Md. Rgt.

Endorsement on back:

J. Wm. Thomas pass unmolested.

Jno. H. Winder  
Brig. Genl.

March 15th





The lower insert on page 91 reads:

A.P. Mar. Office, E.D.

Mar. 31st 1862.

*This is to certify that Mr. J. William Thomas  
is acting as my Adjutant.*

G. W. Alexander  
A.P.M.

Cont. from page 90:

On Nov. 1st, '63, the Inf. went to Hanover Junction and were joined by the 1st Md. Cav., the Baltimore Light Art. and perhaps Diment's Md. Bat.

These were for a time under Col., afterwards, Brig. Genl. B. T. Johnson and known as the Md. Line.

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9. The railroad was not ballasted and the mud, between the ties, deep. Being dark, we would at one step be on the ties, and the next, down in the mud between them.

I think it was at this bivouac that we were on a hillside, with a few trees, and could find no fit place to sleep. I remember well on such an occasion, finding a tree and spreading my rubber on the hill above and putting my feet against the tree to keep from slipping down; only to fall asleep and to wake half a dozen times to find myself out of my blanket, on the hillside below.

---

10. These various marches and counter-marches were some of Jackson's devices to bewilder the enemy and keep them from knowing what forces he had and where he was going.

For instance, on April 30th, when we crossed the mountain, we found camp fires smouldering and bivouacked by them.

A part of Jackson's force had left them after dusk and so, Yankee scouts would think we were the same force and that Jackson had not moved.

---

11. We were quickly formed, with scarce a halt, and at the command to charge I recollect well noticing Capt. Murray. He seemed to give one leap, which placed him far in advance of his men, and straight as an arrow and fleet as a stag he led the way towards a large barn in which was posted a part of the Yankee 1st Md.

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12. As showing the excitement and joy of the ladies of the Valley whenever we drove the Yankees out, I will mention that scenes like this were frequent. Here I was much struck with this. Though bullets were flying pretty freely around, the ladies stood at the doors, and even at the gates of the yards, waving their handkerchiefs, with cries of delight and words of cheer. They handed out to those who could reach them, bread, cakes, milk, water, &c.

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13. The cause of my giving out was that I drank very freely of water handed me by one of the ladies. Although nearly out of wind, I could have kept on, had I only moistened my lips, instead of giving way to my thirst.

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14. Among them Col. Percy Wyndham, who was trying to "Bag Ashby".

---

15. This was the battle of Cross Keys. As far as our Regiment was concerned, it was most peculiar. We were on a slope, just below the ridge of the hill. On the slope were small oak trees, behind which we were ordered to shelter ourselves when possible instead of keeping line.

I was behind one about six or seven inches in diameter. Three regiments attacked us, but did not charge. They were sheltered in part by standing wheat or rye, and a fence. During the whole fight our men were in a state of hilarious excitement.

The slightest thing would cause a roar of laughter and yelling along the line.

From the shots I found one Yank had singled me out. I could not see him, but only the smoke of his gun as he fired through the fence. He plugged the tree several times. One shot barked the tree and stung my ear. Another touched the side of my shoe and stung my toe. This caused me to jerk my foot up, so energetically that I kicked myself. This caused a roar of laughter and yells that went on down the line. As for my duellist, I fired eight shots before I silenced him, he having fired at me seven times after I found him out.

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16. "Camp", "encamp", &c., are used throughout frequently for "bivouac". They do not imply tents, but rather a bivouac, the duration of which is uncertain, and when we have, or expect to have, cooking utensils, &c.

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17. On this morning amid the Yankee force across the river, on a white horse, was seen an officer, evidently one of rank.

Col. Johnson turned to Wellington Blakiston (known from his favorite expression as "By Ganna") and asked him if he could pick the officer off. "By Ganna" turned to several of us and asked how much we thought the distance. All agreed at about one mile. His enfield musket sight was gauged to 1700 yds. Putting it to its full and aiming high he pulled the trigger and the officer fell.

---

18. Co. H was mustered in for one year. Soon after mustering out, Capt. Murray went to Richmond to raise a new company.

Myself and others who had re-enlisted (see page 26, Feb. 8th) remained, most of them of Co. H being assigned to Capt. Herbert, Co. D.

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19. Officers of Co. A were elected either on 22nd or 27th, I think. It was understood that the officers of the old company (H, 1st Md.), except Dick Gilmor, who had joined the cavalry, should be elected, viz., W. H. Murray, Capt.; Geo. Thomas, 1st Lieut.; and that Clapham Murray should be 2nd Lieut. For Junior 2nd Lieut. there was a considerable contest.

The night before the election, Bill Zollinger, S. Sollers, A. Sollers, and some others came into my tent and begged me to run for the position.

I had said I would support Mc H. Howard.

Tom Blakiston had expected an appointment in the regular army. Failing in that he now wanted a lieutenancy in this Co.

I so told Z., &c., and also that, but for having said I would vote for Howard, I would not like to oppose Tom. Hence I could not run.

They said neither could be elected and urged me to consent. As I positively refused, they retired and determined to run Zollinger.

There were several nominees and finally Zollinger was elected.

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20. This made Murray's Co., "Co. "A", and gave him the right of Regt. and rank as Senior Capt.

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21. My diary says "Methodist Episcopal", but my recollection is that I afterwards heard it was a Dunkard meeting.

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22. "Hard-tack", large, dry, square, water crackers, generally very hard.

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23. I was sent in charge of the guard, having obtained this detail in order to see my brother Richard.

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24. Richard planned and effected the capture of the steamboat "St. Nicholas", running between Baltimore and Washington, in June, '61.

He, together with G. W. Alexander, (formerly an Eng. officer U. S. Navy), Tom Blakiston and others, had raised two companies, to be drilled as Zouaves, with the expectation of forming a regiment. R. was commissioned as Col. of Va. Forces, by Gov. Letcher, July 1st, 1861.

With Gov. L's consent he left Richmond to effect the capture of the St. N. and then with her, to take, by surprise, the U. S. Ship, "Pawnee". Com. Hollins, Alexander and some others were to board the St. N. at Point Lookout, St. Mary's Co.

R. came to Baltimore, obtained about a dozen men, and disguised as a French lady, took passage on the St. N., for Washington.

The men went aboard as laborers going to harvest. R. had trunks which contained pistols, sabres, &c. Com. Hollins and the others came aboard at Pt. Lookout, and, when in mid-stream, R. armed his men, threw off his disguise, and took possession of the St. N. without trouble. The "Pawnee" did not come down, owing to the fact that on her way her Commander was killed by a shot from our batteries on Mathias Pt. and she put back to Washington.

R. turned over the command of the St. N. to Com. Hollins, after the capture.

Then in conjunction, they took three vessels, one loaded, I think, with coal, one with coffee, and one with ice, and conveyed them to Fredericksburg. After R.'s death, Com. Hollins claimed the honor of the capture. The above is, I am confident, the true statement.





R. then returned to Md. expecting to go to N. Y. to get arms, &c., when he was arrested. He was sent to Richmond and exchanged, May 6th, '63, completely broken down by his treatment while a prisoner.

The capture of the St. N. raised a furor at the North, and Staunton, Sec. of War, had R. put in close confinement at Port Lafayette, N. Y. There was serious talk of hanging him. Gov. Letcher took the matter in his own hand, having some prisoners captured by Va. Forces. He took out two officers of lower rank than R. and five privates (See Note below), and notified President Lincoln that he would mete out to them the same treatment which R. received at the hands of the North. This brought Staunton to terms and effected R.'s exchange.

R. then desired to command the Md. Line. Brad. T. Johnson got the position. R. was really unfit for service and some time after went to France. He never recovered his health. Some time before, I think, while with Garibaldi in Italy, R. had taken the name Zarvona, and was known as Col. R. T. Zarvona. Name legalized by Va. Legislature.

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25. "Baltimore Lights", a good Md. Light Artillery Co., afterward associated with us as part of the Md. Line.

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26. On this day's march an old man walked along talking with us. He said, "They have been telling us you Rebs were a ragged set, but you seem to have pretty good clothes; and that you were badly armed (words to that effect), but you have good guns, and what's funny to me, all of them have U. S. on them".

Our regiment was better clothed than most and all our guns had been captured on battle fields.

---

27. "Turned to left". This gives the idea that we went to left of pike. My recollection is that we left the pike and took the field on the right of it, before turning to the left.

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NOTE: Two of these afterwards admitted they were officers. See War Record Series 2, Vol. 2, Page 407.

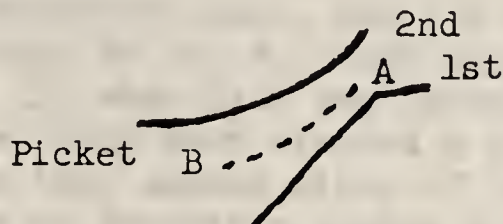




28. "Going up the hill", i.e., "Culp's Hill".

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29. The Federal first line of works which we took and their second line here made a considerable angle, the first running nearly straight, and the second curving from it thus:



We threw out a picket line nearly parallel to their 2nd works, from A to B.

I was in charge of the second relief. I went in for 3rd relief and had posted about one-half of it, when the moon struggling through the clouds discovered us, and the Yankees opened full fire. According to my instructions, I gave the command to fall back to main line. Our main line opened at once and thus we were between the two fires. For once I was certainly anxious to run. I kept my eye on my furthestest man, at B, and as soon as he got on line with me, I put back as quickly as I could. When I reached the breastwork I was nearly bayoneted by one of our men who thought the enemy was charging.

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30. "File Left"; evidently a mistake, as this would have taken us to the rear.

I feel sure we were marching to the left by the left flank, left in front. In that case File Right would have put us in position.

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31. The expressions, "Disorder" and "Confusion" refer to the brigade, not to our Battalion.

I now think this was as severe a trial as any regiment ever had.

We were in edge of woods, with large boulders also in front. As soon as we advanced we were in open ground. A stone fence ran diagonally across our line, cutting the company on the left of Co. A. in half. When the advance began, a battery to our left opened on us with enfilading fire. Soon all of the brigade, to the left of the stone wall, knelt down and began firing. Our Co. (A), a few to our left, and those to our right continued to advance. We were not allowed to fire. We were kept down at dead-march. As 2nd Sergt. I several





times repeated the order as passed down, "Steady, boys, steady". I recollect well, and have frequently remarked upon it, that our line was as good as on dress-parade, and, as men were knocked out, the files closed in and dressed up.

There was not the slightest break until the order was given to fall back.

Then there was a momentary halt, and for a second all huddled up as it were at the right of Co. A, where Capt. Murray fell, and then broke for cover. If, when half way across, we had been allowed to charge, I believe we could have started a rout, as we were on their extreme right and they showed signs of leaving. Besides this was just about the time of Pickett's charge on their left. A charge here might have given success to Pickett, if it did not itself cause a rout.

Our Company loss in the two days, 2nd and 3rd, was 65, viz.: Capt. and 8 privates killed, 1 Lieut., 2 Sergeants and 47 privates wounded, and 6 captured. Of the wounded several were left on the field and captured and some died of their wounds.

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32. Dr. Quinan had been relieved by a Surgeon who said he had orders to send all Confederates away. He insisted I was not much hurt. He inserted a probe in the hip wound, and, striking between two muscles, ran it down about six inches.

It did not follow the wound at all.

From this he said I had no bones broken, though the fact is the crest of the hip bone was shot away, and the pieces came out at David's Island.

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33. Was sent south on parole, not exchanged.

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34. Castle Thunder was a prison, of which Capt. G. W. Alexander, who had been with Richard, was Commander, as Asst. Provost Marshal.

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35. Being on parole, I could not go to the army. So I took a clerkship in Maj. Ambler's office to help pay expenses. He was Asst. Quarter Master.





He married Sen. Mason's daughter. It was in that way I got the position.

---

36. This was the so-called "Md. Line". We tried to form one but failed. That is, we had at Hanover Junction the 2nd Md. Inf., the 1st Md. Cav., and the Baltimore Lgt. Art. under Gen. B. T. Johnson. But of course we could not often act in conjunction, and I think were not known as a separate command after the Inf. went with Breckenridge May 23rd, '64.

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37. While at Hanover Junction, the Infantry were drilled in Artillery practice, and the Cavalry, in Infantry skirmish drill.

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38. I did not give a full account of this in my diary, probably not wishing to write anything to the discredit of an officer.

Since I learn that Capt. Crane (now, 1893, Judge Parran Crane) claims unmerited honor as to his war record, I will now state the facts more fully. At this time Capt. C. was in command of the Battalion.

On the evening of the 2nd, just before the movement of 5 P. M., he made a flowery speech to us to the effect that we were about to be put in a prominent position, that we knew and would perform our duty, &c., &c.

Well! we were placed a short distance in rear of the breastworks. Finegan's Florida Brigade formed about 400 yds. to our rear. All lay down. The morning of the 3rd was very foggy. The enemy charged in five lines and took the breastworks.

When our men broke, or rather began to break, Crane was lying down in rear of the right of our Company. Several officers and men begged him to give the command to forward. He refused. The men then asked Capt. Duval to take command and order a charge, saying they knew the Yankees were taking the works.

He said he could not while Crane was present. They then asked my brother, Geo. Thomas. He could not, for the same reason. By this time Finegan's Brigade had advanced and were nearly upon us.

Then "Buck" Weems, a private in our Co. jumped up with an oath, saying "They are Yanks, I see the D----d old rag".





With that he threw his old straw hat in the air and said, "Come on, Boys".

The men were so excited, they needed nothing more, and we rushed up closely followed by the Florida boys, drove the enemy back and recovered the trenches. Lt. Chas. H. Wise, of Co. B, with some men of the Battalion, manned a gun (which the enemy had nearly succeeded in turning upon us) and opened fire.

I have never met any one who claimed to have seen Crane in the trenches before the afternoon, when all was quiet.

One of Crane's Co. (B) told me that he heard C. give the command "Forward" to his Co.

His Co. was then on the right of the line. He could not run to the left; that was towards the fighting; nor to the rear, for Finegan was behind us. He could get off, only by the right, and must have had presence of mind to give the order as he passed in rear of his Company.

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39. "Pontoon Bridge", over James River.

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40. Around Petersburg each side had heavy breastworks and fortifications, the distance between them varying much, in some places being short musket range.

Between them each side had skirmish lines, except when very close together.

These gradually dug pits holding two, or four, men. Hence there was soon a regular line of pits in front of each breastwork. In some places the lines were near enough to allow conversations.

It was not unusual, when the lines were quiet for one to call out to the other, proposing to swap coffee, &c., for tobacco, the latter being more plentiful with us, and the former with the Yankees.

Then each would send a man half way and the swap would be made.

After a "talk", warning would always be given before opening fire, "Look out, Reb", or "Look out, Yank", "we're going to shoot".

---

41. Pt. Lookout Prison was on a point of land lying between Chesapeake Bay and Potomac River. It was on the Bay side, being a large





pen with high plank fence. near the top of which was a plank walk, on which the guards were posted. A small ditch, about 20 ft. or 30 ft. inside the fence formed the "dead line". Across that no prisoner was allowed to go. While we had negro guards, several of our men, who inadvertently crossed the line, were shot without warning.

The pen was divided by several streets, running from the Bay. On each side of these tents were pitched. Each street, or one side of a street, formed a "Division" under charge of a Yankee Corpl.

The "Division" was sub-divided into companies of about 100, under a Confederate Sergt. or Corpl.

Three times a day we formed ranks and marched to one of the cook-houses on the side opposite the Bay, for our rations. The last consisted of half a loaf of bread and a cup of weak tea, morning and night, and at midday half loaf of bread and a small piece of fat salt pork (pickled pork), or, in place of the pork, a cupful of thin bean soup. It is truth that many in the pen were almost starved. Our mess generally swapped the meat for cups of soup and kept it till we had enough by boiling down, to make a fair soup. Those who had money could live fairly well, as there was a sutler for the prison. Marylanders had little trouble on that account.

The others could get no money from outside. Some made fans, of pine wood, some toothpicks of bone, in form of a knife, and various things which they could sell for small amounts.

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42. "Billy Laird", one of our Co. wounded and captured July 2nd, '63 and not paroled till end of war.

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43. We used to get cracker boxes from the sutler, with which to build. Hence houses called cracker box houses.

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44. About 1/4 m. or perhaps 1 mile above the prison was a narrow place where the Bay and a creek nearly met.

Across this was a heavy stockade, behind which were two guns pointing on the pen, in case of an outbreak of the prisoners.

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45. "Flanked", &c. Miss A. E. was a sister of Willie Edelen and Miss M. S. his cousin, both friends of mine. Maj. Brady, the Provost Marshal in charge, refused to let us out to see them. A working party of prisoners was sent out every morning.

At this time it was working on a fortification near a house in which the ladies were, or to which they could come. W. E. and probably Phil E. and I got on this party and through the Corpl. and Lieut. in charge, got to the house and spent some time.

---

46. Sometimes Marylanders could get boxes of eatables from their friends. This one was so large that Maj. Brady refused to let it in. The "manoeuvring" was to get the Surgeon interested in having it passed in to us. I used to get money in through Father Pacciarini, a priest at St. Inigoes who had the privilege of the camp. He always saw Mother before coming down. He did not think the bringing of money for our necessities was a violation of the spirit of his agreement, although the orders, &c., would not allow it.

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47. When calling to a Yankee picket, we called out "Billy" or "Billy Yank". They called to us, "Johnny" or "Johnny Reb".

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48. This capture seemed to be due to the Capt. commanding brigade picket.

Lieut. Tolson (I think) of our Regt. had charge of the right, and I, as 2nd officer, of the left.

When we fell back there was no enemy attacking in our front. We got to the trenches and found them deserted.

The few men who had manned them had been thrown to the left where we heard heavy firing. We felt that a desperate attack had been made and wished to go there at once. The Capt. said he would go down the line and see. He went to the left and soon returned saying he had been ordered to go back to the pits.

This seemed useless to us, and we doubted his "orders". The men begged Lieut. T. to take command and lead them to where the fighting was going on. Lt. T. did not like to do it as the Capt. commanding was present.

The men then turned to me, and asked me to take command. I was in the same fix. I said I thought going to the pits was useless, but that we had better obey orders. So we all went out again.





We had hardly got to the pits before we saw the Yankees double-quickening to the left (our left) on the breastworks just behind us. We formed and moved by the right flank, without skirmishers ahead.

Soon we came almost against a company of sharpshooters, with their guns leveled at us. The Capt. in com. of us had a white flag up.

The men were terribly taken aback at being thus surrendered, as we all thought the intention was to get back to our own lines, even if we had to cut our way through.

---

49. Miles marched by Co. H, 1st Md. Inf.	880	
Less 10 m. p. 33 and plus 34 m. on pp. 36, 37, 41, 42 (of original diary)	<u>24</u>	904
Miles marched by Co. A, 2nd Md. Infy., to Aug. 19, '64	1411	
plus 3 m. left out on p. 69 (of original diary)	<u>3</u>	<u>1414</u>
By men in both companies		2318
By Co. A, 2nd Md. while I was a prisoner		<u>394</u>
Marched by me		1924
Walked by W. E. and I on furlough on our trip to Westmoreland		<u>120 2044</u>

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COPY OF ROLL OF CO. A, 2nd MD. INF. C.S.A.

WITH CASUALTIES FROM DATE OF MUSTER

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Co. A mustered in on the 27th day of August,  
1862.

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Capt. Wm. H. Murray	July 3, 1863, Killed
1st Lieut. Geo. Thomas	July 2, '63, W. Pro. Capt.
	30 Sept. '64 W.
2nd Lieut. Clapham Murray	Pro. to 1st Lt. Aug. 19, '64,
	Captured.
Jun. 2nd Lt. W. P. Zollinger	30 Sept. '64 W. 2nd Apl. '65 C.
1st Sergt. W. T. Blakistone	July 3, '63 W. Aug. 3, '63 D.
2nd Sergt. Jas. F. Pearson	Aug. 17, '63 1st Sergt. 19 Aug '64 C.
	2 Apl. '65 W. and C.
3rd Sergt. Jos. H. Stewart	Broken. Deserted. Arrested by Yanks.
	Paroled, pardoned by proclamation of
	President. Appt. 2nd Lieut. C.S.A.
4th Sergt. J. Wm. Thomas	July 3, '63 W. and C., Aug. 17, '63
	Pro. 2nd Sergt., Aug. 19, '64 C.
	2nd Apl. '65 C.
5th Sergt W. H. Holliday	Reduced to ranks. June 3, '64 K.
1st Corpl. E. S. Dorsey	Appt. Sergt., June 14, '63 W.
2nd Corpl. Wm. H. Smith	Pro. Sergt., '64 Arrested in Md.
	Paroled.
3rd Corpl. F. L. Grammar	Broken. Deserted.
4th Corpl. Edwin James	Appt. Qr. M. Sergt.
Private Adair, Wm. R.	C. Ex. Dec. '62. 19 Aug. '64 C. Ex.
" 2 Bailey, Wm. F.	1 Oct. '64 W.
" 3 Baxley, W. G. D.	Arrested in Md. Ex., 2 Apl. '65 W.
" 4 Bowling, B.	July 3, '63 W. and C.
" 5 Bowling, F.	Apl. 2, '65 C.
" 6 Bowling, W.	July 3, '63 W. and C., 2 Apl. '65 C.
" 7 Bond, Frank	Detailed as scout.
" 8 Bond, John	3 July '63 W. Deserted.
" 9 Braddock, Chas.	2 July '63 W. 18 Aug. '64 "Missing".
" 10 Brannock, W. D.	Pro. Corpl., 19 July '63 C., 18 Aug. '64
	W, 2 Apl. '65 C.
" 11 Bryan, E.	July '63 C.
" 12 Bryan, W.	Transferred to Co. G.
" 13 Bowley, Wm.	3 July '63 W. and D.





Private 14 Barry, Philip	3 July '63 W. 2 Apl. '65 C.
" 15 Bruce, Wm.	3 July '63 K.
" 16 Clayville, Moses	3 July '63 W. and C., Ap. Corp. Feb. '65. 25 March '65 C. in picket charge.
" 17 Cavey, Jas.	3 July '63 W. Transferred.
" 18 Deale, T. N. (Kip)	19 Aug. '64 C. 21 Sept. '64 D. of pneumonia.
" 19 Denton, Geo.	Ap. Corpl., 30 Sept. '64 K.
" 20 Davis, J. N.	3 July '63 W. and C. Escaped 18 Aug. '64 K.
" 21 Durner, Jno. F.	Detailed in Qr. M. Dept. C.
" 22 Emory, Albert	July '63 C.
" 23 Edelen, Wm. J.	3 July '63 W. and C. 19 Aug. '64 C.
" 24 Fulton, Alex.	3 July '63 W. and C. 3 June '64 W. and D.
" 25 Freeman, Bernard	3 July '63 W. and C.
" 26 Fitzgerald, J. E.	3 July '63 W. 18 Aug. '64 W. 2 Apl. '65 C.
" 27 Gardiner, W. F.	3 July '63 W. and C. Detailed on light duty.
" 28 Galligher, H. F. L.	19 Aug. '64 C. 2 Apl. '65 C.
" 29 Gannon, Wm.	Drummer.
" 30 Gill, S. P.	Mch. '64 Ap. Corpl. 30 Sept. '64 K.
" 31 Glenn, S. T.	3 July '63 W. 2 Ap., '65 C.
" 32 Grayson, S. M.	2 Apl. '65 C.
" 33 Grogan, Jas.	June '64 transferred to 1st Md. Cav.
" 34 Goodwin, John	30 Sept. '64 W.
" 35 Hardesty, Jas.	2 July '63 K.
" 36 Howard, D. R.	3 July '63 W. 19 Apl. '64 W. Leg amputated.
" 37 Hance, W. H.	30 Sept. '64 W. 2 Apl. '65 C.
" 38 Hammett, F.	Between 1st and 5th Oct. '64 D. of dysentery.
" 39 Hopkins, S.	2 July '63 W.
" 40 Hubball, Bernard	17 July '63 C. Deserted.
" 41 Harrison, Thos.	5 June '64 W.
" 42 Harrison, Wm.	2 Apl. '65 C.
" 43 Herster, Fredk.	3 June '64 W. 30 Sept. '64 W. 2 Apl. '65 W. and C.
" 44 Hanson, Notley	3 July '63 W. and C. 18 Aug. '64 W. Retired.
" 45 Hunter, John	
" 46 Hollyday, Lamar	3 July '63 W. and C. Detailed with Col. J. Ap. Hosp. Stew.
" 47 Hollyday, Henry	
" 48 Iglehart, Jas.	Ap. Lance Corpl. 3 July '63 K.
" 49 Ives, Leonard W.	Ap. Lance Corpl. 3 July '63 W. and D.
" 50 Kleinkiewicz, T.	3 July '63 W. and C. Deserted.
" 51 Kennedy, Arthur	3 July '63 K.
" 52 Lloyd, Chas.	2 July '63 W. and D.
" 53 Lowe, E.	
" 54 Lowe, L.	2 July '63 W.
" 55 Loane, Geo.	2 July '63 W. and C. and took the oath. (Deserted).





Private 56 Lucchesi, D.	2 July '63 contused W, July '63 C. near Potomac paroled.
" 57 Murray, Alex.	'62 C. 3 July '63 W. slightly.
" 58 Morrison, Wilbur	3 July '63 K.
" 59 Maguire, Chas. E.	Ap. Corpl., 3 July '63 W., Mch. '64 Ap. Sergt.
" 60 Marden, Geo.	18 Aug. '64 W. Deserted.
" 61 Marney, Jno.	3 July '63 W. and C. Discharged.
" 62 McCormick, H. A.	3 July '63 K.
" 63 McCullough, W. R.	Ap. Lance Corpl., Mch. '64 Ap. Sergt. Maj., Mch. '65 Ap. Adjutant
" 64 McDaniel, John	Detailed with Regt. Surgeon.
" 65 McDonald, P.	3 July '63 C. Ex.
" 66 McKevitt, Arthur	2 Apl. '65 C.
" 67 McCourt, A.	2 Apl. '65 C.
" 68 McIntyre, F.	3 July '63 W. and D.
" 69 Miller, Andrew	Detailed in Field Recg. Hospital.
" 70 Nicolai, H.	3 July '63 K.
" 71 O'Donovan, E.	
" 72 Owens, H. C.	3 July '63 W. 3 June '64 W. D.
" 73 Pindell, P.	2 July '63 W. C. D.
" 74 Porter, Wm.	Detailed in Qr. M. Dept. of Regt. Deserted.
" 75 Pratt, T. St. Geo.	July '64 Apt. Lieut. of Marines.
" 76 Prentiss, Wm.	2 Apl. '65 W. C.
" 77 Peters, Thos.	Detailed with Maj. Kyle, Qr. M. C. at New Creek.
" 78 Pyfer, Benj.	2 Apl. '65 C.
" 79 Parr, D. P.	Detailed in Signal Corps.
" 80 Peregoy, Jas.	3 July '63 W. C. Deserted.
" 81 Quinn, M.	Appt. Chief Musician of Regt.
" 82 Roiley, J. S.	19 Aug. '64 C. Paroled.
" 83 Steele, Chas.	Lance Corpl., 3 July '63 W. C. 30 June '64 D. of sickness.
" 84 Starling, Geo	3 July '63 W. D.
" 85 Sollers, A.	3 July '63 W. 2 Apl. '65 C.
" 86 Sollers, S.	14 June '63 W., 19 Aug. '64 W.
" 87 Sanderson, F.	2 July '63 W. D.
" 88 Smith, H. T.	3 July '63 W. C., Apt. Corpl. Feb. '65.
" 89 Schall, J.	6 July '63 C. and joined Yankee Cav.
" 90 Shanley, T.	6 Apl. '65 C.
" 91 Thelin, Wm. T.	3 July '63 W., 16 Sept. '64 Arrested in Md., 2 Apl. '65 C.
" 92 Thomas, L. R.	Appt. Corpl. Discharged.
" 93 Trego, J. L.	12 Aug. '63 D. of fever.
" 94 Taylor, Geo.	2 Apl. '65 C.
" 95 Trail, C. M.	3 July '63 W., Det. Qr. M. Dept. Courier for Ch. of Art. 3rd Corps.
" 96 Trippe, Andrew	3 July '63 W. C., Appt. Lieut of Ord.
" 97 Twilley, Benj.	Transferred to Co. G.
" 98 Tilghman, R. C.	18 Aug. '64 W. Retired.
" 99 Windolph, Geo.	2 July '63 K.
" 100 Williams, Jno. Ph.	2 July '63 W., 30 Sept. '64 W., Appt. Corpl. Feb. '65, 2 Apl. '65 C.





Private 101 White, Jno.	Deserted, Reported to be on Yankee Gunboat
" 102 Wegner, Chas.	Transferred to 1st Md. Cav.
" 103 Wagner, Jno.	13 June '64 W. D.
" 104 Wilson, Jno.	14 June '63 W. 6 Apl.'65 C.
" 105 Weems, C. H.	2 Apl. '65 C.
" 106 Zollinger, J. P.	3 July '63 W. C. Esc. = Det. in Med. Pur. Office
" 107 Fiege, C. L.	Deserted, sentenced to hard labor with ball and chain. Pardoned by President Davis.
" 108 Chandler, W.	2 July '63 W. D.
" 109 McCormick, L. D.	July '63 C. and took oath.
" 110 Laird, J. Winder	Appt. Corpl. Ap. Sergt. Maj. Apt. Adj. 18 Aug. '64 K.
" 111 Toy, J. L.	18 Aug. '64 W.(4 places). Retired.
" 112 Henry, Jno. C.	3 June '64 contused W. 18 Aug.'64 W. 2 Apl.'65 W.
" 113 Davis, Geo. W.	3 July '63 C.
" 114 Lake, Craig	2 July '63 W. 28 Feb.'64 D. of Varioloid.
" 115 O'Brien	3 June '64 W. Retired.
" 116 Laird, Wm.	2 July '63 W. C. Paroled with A. N. Va.
" 117 Hoffman, W. H.	3 June '64 W.
" 118 Phelps, Jas. G.	19 Aug.'64 C. Exchanged.
" 119 Oakes,	By transfer. Retired.
" 120 Bowdoin, L.	By transfer. Appt. Act. Master's Mate C.S.N.
" 121 Birch, Jno. H.	By transfer. Order Revoked.
" 122 Jennings, V. R.	5 Feb.'65 W.
" 123 Hubbard,	30 Sept.'64 K.
" 124 White, J. McK.	May '62 (in Co. H 1st Md. Inf.) W. 2 Apl.'65 C.
" 125 Hughes,	Joined the Co. & deserted in two weeks.

Original of above roll is in my second book of Diary. While signed by me as 2nd Sergt., it was not an official one, but one kept by me for my own use.

Contractions &c. used, as follows--

W. = Wounded	Ex. = Exchanged
C. = Captured	Ap. or Appt. = Appointed
D. = Died, after W., D. means Died of Wounds.	
K. = Killed	Pro. = Promoted
Corpl. = Corporal	Det. = Detailed
Sergt. = Sergeant	Qr. M. = Quarter Master
Ord. = Ordnance	
Discharged means <u>honorably</u> discharged.	
Retired means dropped from the rolls on account of physical debility from wounds.	





## COMMENTS ON THE PRECEDING PAGES

The preceding pages (3-108) have not been rigorously proofread, with the exception of the last four pages, which especially should contain no error. They were not typed by myself and the copy from which they were typed was one of the three volumes my father had published for his two brothers and himself. These pages, however, have been read for continuity and, when doubt arose, comparison was made with Grandfather's original transcript, and corrections made where applicable. As to the two pages preceding page 3, the first has been deleted as it consisted of introductory remarks written by Father concerning the three brothers which are now redundant as to the larger scope of the material herein presented; the second has been given a less prominent position (now page 122). Omitted from the DIARY are pages following the Roll of Company A; these consisted of notes on the weather during the spring of 1863. It is unfortunate that the DIARY is not reproduced here in script, to more closely conform with the original.

I have been unable to determine when or where Governor Letcher's article on Zarvona was first published, but it most certainly appeared shortly after Zarvona's death, perhaps in a Richmond paper. I have the following letter written by Colonel French, aide to Governor Letcher:

Whitby near Richmond Va March 27 1875

James Wm Thomas Esq  
Charlotte Hall, St Marys Co. Md

Dear Sir

We of this household were deeply pained to learn through the public prints that Col Zarvona had recently died at your house. We highly esteemed your brother and would be greatly debtor to you for the particular of his death. Only a few weeks ago we rec<sup>d</sup> a letter from him in which he said he had in contemplation a visit to us. You may realise then how much we were shocked at the announcement of his death for which we were so little prepared. Zarvona had many warm friends in Virginia, who will long hold him in fresh remembrance. Gov Letcher was deeply attached to him and I know will be deeply grieved when he hears of his death. We tender our deep felt sympathies -- we knew him well -- we valued him much & were sincerely attached to him. We shed a tear over his grave, where we trust he "rests from his labors". Please let us hear from you -- no particulars however trivial, connected with his last days, will be uninteresting to us.

Very resp<sup>y</sup> & truly yours

G. Bassett French

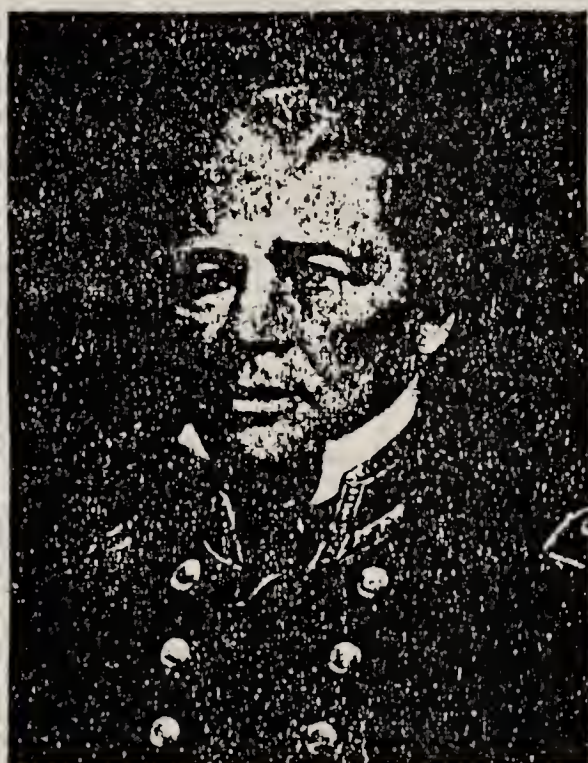
The Governor probably received prompt word of Zarvona's death and was then inspired to write this most complimentary, factual, and beautiful





obituary. I have copy of the Confederate Relief Bazaar Journal dated Baltimore, April 20th, 1898 in which the article appeared; it is correctly quoted in that Zarvona was "about twenty-one years of age", but Zarvona actually was in his twenty-eighth year at the time. I do not know the circumstances upon which the Governor and Zarvona first met nor how they became such intimate friends, but Zarvona's previous exploits and the prominence of his family would have been sufficient for his initial entree. I have been unable to find the source of the lines which the Governor uses to conclude the article but the Governor's grandson, General Letcher, writes me that "it could be from Byron because I believe he was a favorite of the Governor".

I was interested in that Governor Letcher stated that he felt Commodore Maury should be present (page 4) at his meeting with Zarvona. Maury, at about that time, was Superintendent of the United States Naval Observatory [where I, 100 years later perform duties as an astronomer]. How could he then be available in Richmond? The famed astronomer,



MATTHEW FONTAINE MAURY

Simon Newcomb, in his "Reminiscences", writes that Lt. Maury of the Naval Observatory "went about his work with great energy and efficiency, so that for two or three years, the institution bade fair to take a high place in science. Then he branched off into what was, from a practical standpoint, the vastly more important work of studying the winds and currents of the ocean. . . . The new work was so absorbing that he seemed to have lost interest in the astronomical side of the establishment [and, when came the war, he] resigned his commission and cast his fortunes with the Confederacy". A certain bitterness is expressed in the terse explanation of Maury's departure in the Observatory's 1871 volume of "Washington Astronomical Observations"; it reads:

"On the 26th of April 1861 Commodore Maury suddenly left the Observatory and city to join the cause of the so-called Confederate States of the South".

Captain George Thomas, as is evident from his addresses herein produced, was obviously an orator and he was frequently called upon as a speaker. I have a postal card postmarked Baltimore, June 17 1890, 11 AM; it is addressed as follows:

Captain George Thomas  
c/o J. H. Thomas, Jr.  
#328 N. Charles St.  
City

with announcement printed on the reverse side of one such lecture, possibly the same address which is reproduced herein on page 6. It reads as follows:

Baltimore June 16th 1890

On Thursday evening next, June 19th, at eight o'clock, CAPT. GEORGE THOMAS of Company A., 2d Maryland Infantry, C.S.A., will de-







liver a lecture on the *Battle of Gettysburg*, in the Cyclorama Building, corner of Mount Royal and Maryland Avenues. The proceeds of the lecture will be for the benefit of the Maryland Line Confederate Soldier's Home. All who desire to see this wonderful picture and to hear the true story of this great Battle should not fail to attend.

Board of Managers,  
MARYLAND LINE C. S. HOME

Captain George's address given at Gettysburg was fully reproduced in the newspapers of the day. From THE SUN (Baltimore) Supplement of 20 November 1886 the following account was given on the Dedication; omitted is the address itself which is given on pages 10-16. The article concludes with a 144-line listing of some 400 names of those who participated or were "excursionists" at the dedication; I include this "for the record" and because of the many prominent names mentioned.

## DEDICATING THE MONUMENT:

### Large Excursion to Gettysburg—Major Thomas's Graphic Address.

[Reported for the Baltimore Sun.]

Twenty-three years after the dedication of the National Cemetery at Gettysburg by President Lincoln, the first monument marking the position of a Confederate command on the battlefield of Gettysburg was dedicated yesterday, a beautiful day for any ceremony. It was erected by the surviving members of the Second Maryland Regiment and their friends, and the dedicatory ceremonies were witnessed by two thousand people, including the members of the Second Regiment, the Maryland Line, the Society of the Army and Navy of the Confederate States, the Murray Association, the Ladies' Confederate Memorial Association, Company C First Maryland Cavalry, the Fifth Maryland Regiment acting as escort, and survivors of the First Maryland Infantry, First Maryland Artillery, Chesapeake Artillery, and a large number of ex-Confederate soldiers from other States, gentlemen and ladies of Baltimore, Frederick and Gettysburg. The Western Maryland Railroad ran a special excursion train at 8.30 A. M. to Gettysburg in two sections, the first section being in charge of Conductor Wm. Johnson and the second in charge of Capt. W. T. Cooksley, who had been in the Confederate service. The first section, consisting of ten cars, was occupied by the Fifth Regiment, Col. Stewart Brown commanding, with band and drum corps, 230 men, and in the 14 cars of the second section were the various associations and their friends. At Emory Grove the last section was divided and was run to Gettysburg and back as two trains. The trip to the battlefield and return was made with comfort and pleasure for all. On the train Capt. Daniel A. Fenton collected over \$40 for the injured firemen. Arrived at Gettysburg the veterans found the Fifth Regiment in line on Carlisle street. When they had formed their columns they passed the regiment, which stood at present arms, and then saluted and cheered the command as it passed them to take the right of line.

#### THE PROCESSION.

The march to the battlefield was then taken up, in the following order: The Fifth Regiment, couriers Messrs. Emmett Brown, J. B. Brown, sons of Capt. J. B. Brown, of the Third N. C. Infantry, M. H. Herbert, son of Gen. Herbert, and J. Duncan McKim, son of Rev. Dr. Randolph H. McKim; Gen. George H. Stuart and staff officers; Lieut. Randolph H. McKim, chief of staff; Lieut. McHenry Howard, Col. W. S. Symington, Col. H. Kyd Douglas, Capt. Frederick M. Colston, Capt. Frank Markoe, Capt. John Donnell Smith, Private George C. Jenkins, Lieut. Fielder O. Silngluff, Private Gresham Hough, Capt. J. S. Maury, Midshipman John T. Mason, Capt. C. M. Morris, Midshipman J. Thomas Scharf, Private Spencer C. Jones, Corporal Robert M. Blundon, Sergeant William H. Pope, Private George T.

Hollyday, Captain John B. Brown; the Second Maryland Regiment; First Maryland Cavalry; a carriage containing Captain George Thomas, the orator of the day; Mr. Ridgely Howard and friends; the Maryland Line, Society of the Army and Navy, and other organizations. Nearly one thousand persons were in line. The veterans marched to the music of Litchford's Drum Corps, composed of sons of Federal veterans, the drum-major, Aquilla Jackson, having been a Federal soldier.

#### THE FLAGS BORNE

In the Maryland Line were carried by Messrs. John W. Chapman and T. W. Carey—the two battle-flags of the Second Regiment, one presented by the ladies of Baltimore, and the other by the ladies of Frederick. The Frederick flag, borne at the head of the line, is of blue silk, with the State arms on one side, and on the other the inscription, "Presented to the Frederick Volunteers by the friends of Southern rights." This company was raised by Capt. Bradley T. Johnson, and was the first body of troops that joined the Confederate army in Virginia. The Baltimore flag, known as the bucktail flag, also of blue silk, with the State seal and the inscription, "First Regiment, Maryland Line" upon it, was brought from Baltimore by Miss Hetty Cary just before the battle of Manassas, and the two colors on one staff were carried through the battle. The flags were also in the battles of Front Royal, Winchester, Bull Run Heights, Harrisonburg, Cross Keys, Port Republic, Cold Harbor, Chickahominy, Malvern Hill and the seven days around Richmond. At the battle of Harrisonburg, where Ashby was killed, five men were shot under the colors.

The route of the procession was out Carlisle street to Baltimore street, across Cemetery Hill, then by a road to the left to Culp's Hill, where stands the monument, one of the most handsome ones on the field. It was described in THE SUN of yesterday. The Fifth Regiment passed at carry arms the National Cemetery, where the flag was at half-mast in respect to the memory of ex-President Arthur.

#### THE SCENE AROUND THE MONUMENT.

As the procession marched over the battlefield one could obtain some little idea of the desperate fighting which occurred there when he viewed the stones and monuments in close proximity marking the positions of the opposing bodies, and the rugged nature of the country, broken by woods and huge ribs of rock projecting several feet above ground. The monument has one of these ribs for a base. At the monument, upon which was placed a floral anchor by a lady whose son was a member of the Second Maryland, the scene was striking. The Fifth Regiment stood at parade rest; the veterans gathered about the monument or strolled about the field, pointing out the spots where they were wounded, where the gallant Murray and other members of their command were killed, or narrating the incidents of the three days' fight. Luncheon parties were scattered about among the trees, giving an animated

appearance to the bare November landscape. The battle of Gettysburg was one of the two fights in which Maryland troops were pitted against each other. Among those present yesterday were Messrs. Joseph H. White and W. T. Ehlen, of Talbot county, who were members of Pennsylvania regiments opposed to the Confederate forces in that battle.

#### THE MONUMENT DEDICATED.

Gen. Stuart and staff were greeted by Messrs. John M. Krauth, John S. Sobich, Dr. Charles Horner, W. D. Holtzworth and Gen. C. H. Buehler, of the Gettysburg Memorial Association, and with Gen. Stuart presiding the ceremonies were begun by Rev. Dr. Randolph H. McKim, late of Holy Trinity Church, New York, and now of Trinity Church, New Orleans, and the sole surviving member of the personal staff of Gen. Stuart at the battle of Gettysburg. He prayed that the liberty for which the South had fought and the Union for which the North had contended might never be broken asunder. Capt. Geo. Thomas then delivered the dedicatory address, which occupied three-quarters of an hour, and was heard attentively. At its conclusion Mr. John M. Krauth accepted the monument, and said that the association would deem it a privilege and a duty to guard the monument to the gallantry and courage of the men of whom it was a memorial. The audience was then dismissed with the benediction. During the services the Fifth Regiment Band, under Adam Itzel, played two dirges, and it was noticeable that during the whole day no national or Southern airs were played. Everybody returned to Gettysburg at the conclusion of the exercises, took dinner, and, until train time, enjoyed the pranks of some of the members of the Fifth Regiment, who, headed by Litchford's Drum Corps, marched about the town in high glee, and heard a brief speech made by General Stuart from the platform of one of the cars.

Gen. Bradley T. Johnson was detained in Baltimore by court business, but met the excursionists on their return at Emory Grove. Upon the return of the excursion to the city at 8.20 P. M. the Fifth Regiment escorted the organizations to their hall, on Mulberry and Cathedral streets.

#### Address of Capt. Thomas.

Capt. George Thomas, of St. Mary's county, acting adjutant of the Second Maryland Regiment in the battle of Gettysburg, who was badly wounded in the charge on the works, July 2, delivered the address. Capt. Thomas said: "This is indeed a beautiful country, singularly favored by nature, wonderfully improved by the hand of man. Its natural beauties and attractions, its evidences of thrift and well-being are well calculated to arrest the attention of even the least observant. Peace and happiness, quietude and contentment would seem to have found here their most congenial home. But yet more beautiful and yet more attractive are the occasion, the prompting and the circumstances that mark our assemblage of today. To one taking in at a glance this splendid panorama of hill and plain, of mountain side and vale,

Cont.







rial of the deeds of the sons of Maryland whose cause was lost in the clash of arms. You will guard it well, not as a tribute to the cause that's dead, but as an added page to the great record you have in charge—a record which belongs to no section and to no time, the joint heritage of the North and of the South, and of right to be transmitted in all its fullness to the ages yet to come."

### Those Who Participated.

The following members of the Second Maryland Regiment were present: Field and staff officers, Major W. W. Goldsborough; Surgeon De Wilton Snowden.

Company A—Capt. George Thomas, Lieut. Clapham Murray, Lieut. Wm. P. Zollinger, Sergeants James T. Plorson, James H. Thomas, E. D. Dorsey, Corporal Somervill. Soliers, Privates D. R. Howard, T. D. Harrison, W. H. Harrison, Fred. Herster, Henry Hollyday, Lamar Hollyday, W. E. Lowe, L. Lowe, Alex. Murray, A. McKavitt, John Marney, Thos. O'Brien, W. T. Thelin, Andrew C. Trippe.

Company D—Sergeant N. Lee Goldsborough, Privates W. B. Owens, Sydney Green, W. B. McAtee, John Davis, C. C. Leitch, T. L. Griffith, G. W. Jones, H. D. Webb, Samuel McCullough.

Company E—Captain John W. Torsch,  
Privates H. H. Radecke, J. L. Aubrey, Edw.  
Sheehan,

Company F—Privates August Obendarfer,  
A. Aygnod, Henry Atzrodt.

Company G—Sergeant Daniel A. Fenton,  
Privates James Davis, J. H. Duvall, Henry  
Bowen, George Langford.

Of company C, First Maryland Cavalry, were present Col. R. Carter Smith, Lieut. Charles Kettiewell, Orderly Sergeant R. M. Chambers; Hugh McWilliams, Herman Helmiller, Richard Howard, David Foley, Henry Wusten, J. P. Brims, Jesse Perkins, George Lindsay, Jacob F. Cook, R. G. Thomas, A. J. Palmer, George Byers, G. M. Webber, John Riley, George C. Jenkins, J. C. Gresham, Jas. McRae, A. Fort Talbert, B. N. Hurst, G. W. Lurman, O. Bullard.

Among the emigrants were Messrs. Henry A. Wise, Frank X. Ward, J. W. Trail Talbot county; Judge A. B. Major, B. L.

Floor, George W. Abbe, Captain, Arthur L. Albert, wife and daughter, Capt. W. I. Rasin, James Tilghman, Queen Anne's county; Maj. M. Moffit, Gen. Charles C. Edgerton, H. H. Garrigues, Judge G. W. Wilson, D. Duvall, P. K. Steele, Anne Arundel county; E. D. Herring, W. F. Wharton, J. T. M. Barnes, Jas. W. T. Wilson, designer of the monument, Thomas Hillen, James Keenan and wife, Mrs. W. P. Zollinger, Mrs. W. M. Powers, Mrs. W. H. Williams, Mrs. E. B. Tucker, Miss M. Bingley, Mrs. Lamar Holiday, Philip Rogers, A. M. Emory, Charles S. Fayes, Dr. Monmonier, Dr. C. G. W. Macgill, Samuel J. Hough, A. H. Robertson, John Bringham, J. Newport Potts, Dr. Chas. M. Morfit, Maj. Richard T. Allison, Christopher Billip, W. H. Fitzgerald, B. B. Taylor, Ringold Broussau of New Orleans, Wm. B. Templeton, Herbert Osburn, John H. Alexander, Stirling Murray, A. M. Chichester, Wm. N. Wisc, P. S. Shroff, T. W. Edwards, J. L. Norris, Loudoun county, Va.; W. D. Macgill, Virginia: State Senator Shriver, Carroll county; N. E. Foard, Mrs. J. S. Barnes, Mrs. Charles Barnes, Mrs. Alice Waylor, Mrs. Sophia Damast, Miss Damast, Miss Minnie Connolly, Mrs. G. E. Probst, Miss Stuart, Miss Pittinos, J. Q. A. Sands, Dr. J. A. Smith, Campbell Cocker, William Davis, B. F. Brown, Albert Brown, Adolph Ferbath, Peter Brocke, Solomon Gibbath, William Shipley, Francis Johnson, B. H. Whalen, John Blumenbauer, Edward McSherry, Capt. Hellschew, of Frederick, Charles Leutbecher and wife, James R. Wheeler, B. B. Taylor, W. R. Howard, G. W. Noland, Col. Wilson N. Nicholas, Henry Epplesheimer, New York, W. L. Caver, C. L. Jackson, Edw. Neilson, Theo. By Lipa, Jr., A. G. Allmand, J. R. Hall, W. J. Scharf, T. Duvall, Prince George's county, L. W. Neilson, R. W. Macubbin, Jr., Evans Duvall, Prince George's county, J. S. Barnes, W. T. Thompson, Rudolph Colbert, Charles W. Small, I. S. O., H. Keys, T. J. Rooney, G. A. Shower, John A. Water, J. A. Krichton, Harry Marston, J. W. Collins, H. S. Bert, C. J. Stewart, R. T. Anderson, B. W. Dorey, Frank Dorey, Daniel Shettle, M. E. Quinton, J. L. Moog, Garrett Snack, Charles B. Galt, Horne, Philip Whalen, W. B. Minor, Geo. W.

Schaffer, Philip Berger, of the city police force, Dr. R. B. Winder, E. H. Dryden, Fred. Cook, W. H. Ponder, A. W. Nicholson, G. P. Mott, F. C. Plunkett, Gen. Frank A. Bond, John Perry, Jr., J. Thomas, John T. Hayden, F. G. Stockdale, H. C. Kirk, E. Glenn Perdue, Wm. M. Maynadler, R. M. Dawson, N. S. M. Morton, David M. Percey, Chas. T. Cockay, G. W. McAtee, C. A. McAtee, Geo. M. Boker, C. A. Yates, R. W. W. Taylor, Dr. J. H. Grimes, Dr. H. S. Bowen, James H. Kramer, Philip Watts, C. J. Mehan, A. M. Pierce, Col. Wm. Norris, chief of signal corps, C. S. A., Rev. B. F. Ball, Philip Walsh, J. J. Walsh, Michael McMahon, J. F. Rowe, Joseph Marshall, of Mississippi, Jas. M. Lowe, G. E. Halloway, Talbot county, G. W. Ralph, George R. Gaither, O. L. Rhodes, F. A. Stewart, Winfield Peters, Chas. F. Herbert, H. H. Quynn, T. L. Griffith, J. W. Clarke, D. B. Taylor, W. R. Byrd, George Zirkler, L. T. LeCato, G. H. LeCato, J. Wesley Elliott, J. J. Hubbard, J. M. Keesler, H. M. Carter, E. E. Cobb, D. A. Boone, Charles F. Ellender, J. I. Rhelm, Wm. Dunnott, John N. Watts, Anne Arundel county, Edward Magruder, John O. Turner, Thomas H. Perrie, Prince George's county, Geo. W. Webb, W. H. Etheridge, Jr., R. W. Webb, J. W. H. Smith, W. H. Rogers, J. W. Jenkins, J. S. A. S., Thomas P. McCormick, J. Key, Christian Schalk, John Culling, Henry Weeks, T. J. Tytman, O. Derboock, Edw. Kershaw, Jas. F. Pearson, J. M. Hodge, Alex. Wagner, B. S. Judge, Matthias Clark, John R. Wells, W. H. Rubey, W. F. Baker, G. W. Booth, W. F. Edwards, W. H. Savage, R. R. Chew, Thos. Carr, Wm. Everett, W. C. Holland, S. Streett, A. Chailou, G. W. St. Clair, H. H. Durkee, J. F. Clark, H. McWilliams, Chas. F. Kabler, Geo. S. Herron, W. P. Newcomer, P. Flood, Thos. W. Morse, J. W. White, Richmond, Va., Edward Weber, Philip Kell, J. O. Snowden, J. W. Snowden, J. M. DeGoey, George Young, R. J. Padgett, R. T. Hamilton, M. F. Murray, Thos. Jones, Jos. Parsons, Fred. Kirsch, G. A. Wintburn, Martin Cook, W. B. Owings, Author Helgeson, C. Brumann, J. E. Newell, J. C. Galt, E. A. District, Wm. Shawe, Washington, D. C., John W. H. H. and many others.

The following notice from the 13 April 1861 *Washington National Intelligencer* (daily paper) caught my eye. Surely this must be the comet mentioned by Grandfather in the Diary under entry of 1861 July 2! (see page 20). Also, linear extrapolation from the motion given

## A NEW COMET.

OBSERVATORY, WASHINGTON, April 11, 1861

SIR: I have the honor to report the observations made last night by Mr. Ferguson through the large equatorial on a new comet.

Comet, 1861. III.

	Right Ascension.	North declension.
April 10.	10h 10m 20.6s 17h 7m 57.0s	69° 26' 14.6"

The comet is circular, two minutes in diameter, without any tail; condensed at the centre, with some trace of a nucleus. Its daily motion is 6m 12s retrograde in right ascension, and N. 46' in declination.

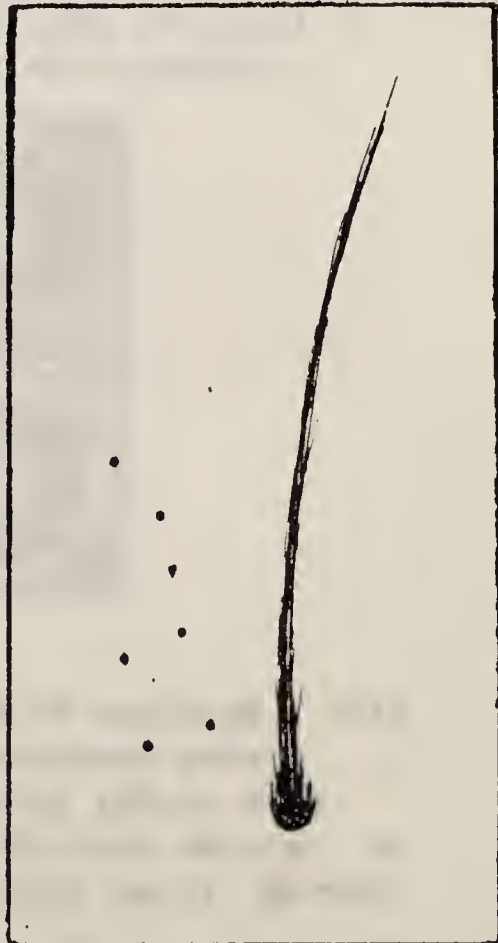
This comet was discovered at Mr. Rutherford's Observatory, in New York, April 4th, by Mr. A. E. Thatcher, who reported it to this Observatory by letter of April 9th.

Respectfully, &c.

M. F. MAURY, Superintendent.

Hon. GIDEON WELLES, Secretary of the Navy.

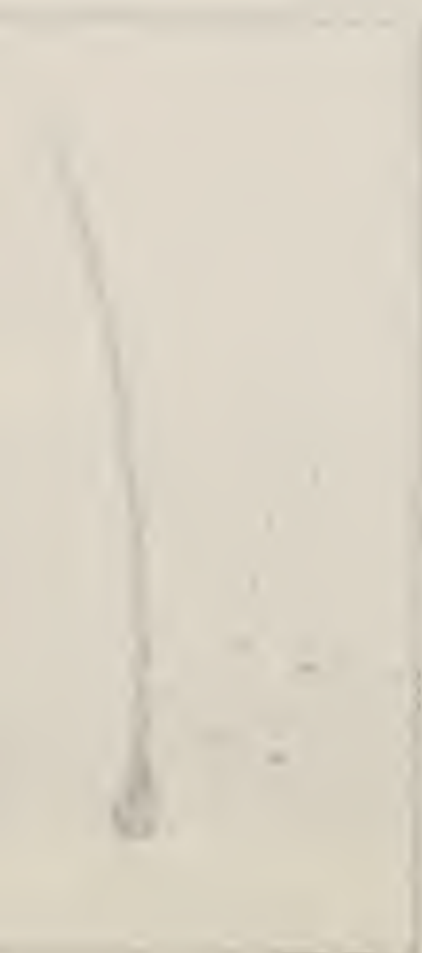
verified the probability that this comet, as announced by Maury, could have appeared in the sky as described by Grandfather. Such extrapolation, however, is not reliable because a comet's motion is quite variable, it greatly increasing in velocity as it approaches perihelion. Further investigation reveals that







THE JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION  
PUBLISHED WEEKLY  
CHICAGO, ILL., MAY 1, 1924



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THE JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION  
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CHICAGO, ILL., MAY 1, 1924

the comet in Maury's announcement was Comet 1861 I; by the end of June this object was too faint to have been observed without telescopic aid. The comet that Grandfather reported was 1861 II, the "Great Comet of 1861"; this comet evidently was a very bright object at the end of June and beginning of July, with a head of magnitude 0 or +1 and a tail at least 100° long. I have sketched the comet (preceding page) from a drawing made by an observer on the same night of July 2; the Big Dipper is shown to the left, and the tail most likely extended as far as Vega. Comet 1861 III did not appear until December of that year, and Maury's designation is an unexplained error. [I am indebted to Elizabeth Roemer, an authority on comets and a most attractive astronomer, for verification of the comments here made.]

Entry of February 20 pages 27-28: the "N.N." is Nannie Nelson; see entries of March 3 and 10. See also letter of Zarvona written at Fort McHenry, reproduced in section "Zarvona".

Grandfather mentions Zarvona in the Diary in entries of May 2 - May 7, page 47, and notes 23 and 24, pages 96-97. He mentions his brother George frequently, as on top of page 21 where big brother helps out little brother; being in the same company they were obviously of comfort to each other despite the great difference in rank.

The "sutler" is mentioned several times, as on pages 74 and 102; he was a rugged individual, the Civil War equivalent of today's "PX" or post exchange. "This man was a civilian merchant whose job it was to supply the soldier with articles not furnished in Army rations. From various accounts we learn that these might include soap, tobacco, trinkets, polishes, ink and writing paper, fresh and canned fruits, candy, cakes, bacon, cheese, and butter. To prevent profiteering, the Army set the selling price of all articles. In return the Army helped the sutler to acquire supplies and protected his shipments. The most valuable aid provided by the military, however, was the neat system of payroll deductions which insured payment of the soldier's debts on payday. Due to the countrywide shortage of small coins at this time, the more efficient sutlers issued tokens made of metal or paper in denominations from 2¢ to \$2. These tokens were readily



Sutler Token or Script

accepted by everyone and formed an excellent medium of exchange. With a supply of tokens, the soldier could spread his purchases over a month's time, which also helped the sutler. The metal tokens were manufactured in Cincinnati, Chicago, and Baltimore in many metals. We find them today in brass, copper, bronze, nickel, white metal, German





silver, and lead. They are generally very plain in design, carrying only the sutler's name, denomination, and the regiment designation. The reverse is usually blank. The script shows some artistic effort. Many were beautifully designed and printed on excellent paper. The piece illustrated was lithographed in Baltimore by J. R. Bostwick, sutler to Scott's 900th United States Calvary". [Quoted from Brent H. Hughes, the Washington Star.]

In commenting on several social gatherings during Grandfather's war-time maneuvers, he goes into detail to the extent of giving the names of songs sung as well as the quality of the voices of the ladies present. I judge that he liked to sing and probably, in later years, he was accompanied by his wife at the piano. Grandmother lived with us at 1605 Bolton Street in Baltimore until her death in 1924 (having been struck by a street car in December of that year) and even at the age of 82 she enjoyed playing the piano.

- - - o - - -

Most of the original diary was written in small note books; other parts were written on note paper. On the next page is reproduced (to scale) such a page, one of four numbered 114, 115, 116, 117, written on both sides of a single folded sheet. Reading this sheet is difficult (as also is the original) because of stains and other discoloration, and due to it having been written in pencil. This page 115 of the original diary may be compared with the diary as typed, pages 70-71, starting August 23 with the words "us little news . . ." and ending August 25 with the words " . . . Met several of our acquaintances and fellow".

On the next following page is reproduced (reduced scale) a page from the transcript, which partially overlaps the entries described above. This page 114 of the transcript may be compared with page 71 of the diary as typed, starting August 23 with the words "the reverse enacted . . ." and ending August 24 with the words " . . . enjoyed it very much, being decidedly".

[It is mere coincidence that this page and the reproduction pages that follow, the selected page from the original diary, and the selected page of the transcript all have similar page numbers.]





as at the same time the number of  
have increased in our power.

Towards night rain came again though I kept all except  
one side dry. Passed in very important night -  
day 93<sup>rd</sup> still in this old good house wh. is now crowded.

day 93<sup>rd</sup> Still in this old quond house wh. is now crowded.  
We can not go in a more worse place, so I trust we  
will leave soon - about 3 1/2 P.M. much to my delight  
we were ordered in routes & found ourselves aboard  
the lotter, wh. was at least pretty clean - When last  
I was here (Sept. 90<sup>th</sup> (?) it was on a more pleasant  
evening, for then I was transferred fr. a U.S. to a C.S.  
Vessel. I did not then expect so soon to have the  
reverse enacted -

~~dropped~~ - Dropped section at 15' above Fortness  
Mammals lived by tide gouging -

July 24<sup>th</sup> - Saw after big break, strike & anchor & started down the river. These further increases

a little after nine and reached Ft. Lookout about 10 P.M.  
 We marched into an ablong pen, made by a high  
 plank fence, where I passed a comfortable  
 night, & enjoyed the salt water breeze very much  
 in spite of my position as prisoner.

Aug 25<sup>th</sup> - Wake up! find we had a ~~surprise~~  
~~lot of~~ x blacks to grow us. This is the first  
time we have been under negro ground -

When the relief went forward I saw a negro  
Capt. marching ~~with~~ <sup>to relieve a white man</sup> ~~in~~, ~~and~~ ~~that~~ ~~the~~ ~~man~~

transferred to the Provost - Marshall, well called  
and we examined - them carried to the

prisoners camp & put up tents in Jim Reason  
took the place of Capt. of the Co. & the Comd, from

him two small stints in the Mr. Gallagher, and  
of 2 took our abode. I think we are making  
ourselves pretty comfortable. But as yet  
at our old acquaintance, and felt



Handwritten text in Arabic script, likely a manuscript or letter. The text is dense and covers most of the page. It appears to be a formal document, possibly a decree or a legal text, given the use of certain phrases and the structured layout. The script is clear but somewhat faded, suggesting it is an older document. The text is written in a cursive style typical of Arabic manuscripts. There are some lines that are more prominent than others, possibly indicating a title or a section header. The overall appearance is that of a well-preserved but aged piece of paper.

114

1864

Aug.

The riverer reacted - Dropped anchor  
abt. 35 m. above Fortress Monroe & laid  
by till morning -

24<sup>th</sup>

Soon after day-break weighed anchor  
& started down the river - Passed Fortress  
Monroe a little after nine & reached  
Pt. Lookout abt. 7 P.M. Were marched into  
a long pen, made by a high picket fence,  
where I passed a comfortable night, & enjoy-  
ed the salt water breeze very much, in spite  
of my position as prisoner -

25<sup>th</sup>

Woke up to find we had blacks to  
guard us - This is the first time we have  
been under negro guard

When the relief went round I saw a  
Negro Corp<sup>l</sup> marching to relieve a white one -

Marched to the Provost Marshal's - Roll  
called & we examined - Then carried to

Note 41

the prisoners' Camp, & put up tents

Jim Pearson took the position of Sergeant  
of the Co. & the Corporal gave him two  
small A tents in which he, Colloffer,  
Edelen & I took our abode - I think we  
can make ourselves pretty comfortable -

42

Met several of our old acquaintances  
& fellow soldiers - Billy Laird (not plain in  
dying) asked us to supper and though camp  
food, with the exception of coffee, we  
enjoyed it very much, being decidedly





## THE THOMAS BROTHERS AFTER THE WAR

The Thomas family of Southern Maryland at the outbreak of the Civil War has been described as wealthy. But the three brothers encountered financial difficulties after the war, as was so often common in the South. The yankees had "occupied" Mattapany and had carried off with them everything that was moveable--farm animals, equipment, produce--even the contents of the mansion itself. Some items as large as the piano were not removed, but the metal components of the piano were carried away!

After the war Grandfather worked as a civil engineer in laying the trans-continental railway. He married in 1871. He left Lakeland (his area of Mattapany down-river from the mansion) in about 1883 and moved to Baltimore. He later acquired the farmland known as Woodbury, on Indian Creek between Charlotte Hall and Benedict, which property now is owned by his grandson and namesake. Grandfather died in 1901, having been dragged by a horse while farming. He is buried at All Faith Church, Charlotte Hall.

Captain George meanwhile was at Mattapany mansion, farming and educating his large family. The brothers had inherited the estate from their mother who died in 1871 and the part containing the mansion was left to Zarvona--however, shortly thereafter, a re-division of the property was made. Captain George conducted a school in the parlor at Mattapany, teaching the three r's, history, geography, physics, biology, English, mathematics through trigonometry, Latin through Tacitus, French, Greek, and especially emphasizing spelling. He had no assistants and, in addition to his own children, there were one or two living with the family as one of them, besides three or four day scholars. Known as a disciplinarian, some of his old friends would beg him to take their sons who were beyond their control; he would try hard and failed only once, when he had to send the boy back to his father. Captain George Thomas is buried at Trinity Church, St. Mary's City.

Zarvona's activities are not too well known after his release from Fort Lafayette and his return to Richmond in 1863. He left the country and was involved in further exploits abroad. He returned to St. Mary's in 1870 and then again left the country. In 1872 we find him back in Baltimore and St. Mary's. Zarvona died in 1875 at Grandfather's home and was buried at "Deep Falls". The immediate circumstances of his death are not known, but we may assume from French's letter (page 109) that death came "unexpectedly"--however he had been in ill health since his prison days. A special section in the final pages of this book reveals further light on this amazing man.

. . . o . . .

At the time of this writing (spring 1962) all of the male issue of Captain George and Grandfather have died, and Aunt Lou passed away in 1952. As of three years ago, however, all the Thomas wives were alive; within this time my mother and my Aunt Ellie (Uncle Carroll's widow) have passed away. Cousin Kitty (Browse) is the sole Mattapany Thomas in her generation left--but she is very much alive and is now as delight-







CHILDREN OF JAMES WILLIAM THOMAS





ful and as attractive as ever.. It was natural that I should turn to her for first-hand information on Mattapany and the Thomas brothers. Her response somehow reveals her own character as well as those she describes. She is quoted below from several letters she has sent me. When she writes of "Aunt Lou", she, of course, is referring to her sister, my cousin, called "Aunt Lou" by the younger members of the family, "Loulie" by others. Her comments have been slightly rearranged for purpose of continuity, but all the words are hers.

March 1961.

Dear Armstrong,

Your letter is very interesting and Calvert and I think your effort well worthwhile and only wish I could give you some definite information.

Everything in the house at Mattapany was left to Aunt Lou and to me as long as we were not married. One year after Mother's death, I married Dr. Browse, 1910. Everything then went to Aunt Lou, so that she was in possession of all papers, letters, etc. I have not a single paper or record of the family. Aunt Marie had a lot of letters after Aunt Lou's death--if any one can help you, she probably can.

[Note: "Aunt" Marie is Cousin Kitty's sister-in-law. Cousin Marie's daughter, Hilda, has had these papers photo-copied, has loaned them to me, and has given the originals to the Maryland Historical Society; they consist of Sewall patents, wills, etc., two of which papers are reproduced on pages 168 and 169.]

My memory is very clear as far as Mattapany is concerned. But I was not born till five years after Col. Zarvona's death. When I was old enough to appreciate family lore, Father would tell us how brilliant and adventuresome Col. Zarvona was. He was supposed to have been much in love with a French girl, who died, much to his distress, and he took her name of Zarvona. He was a dashing, handsome man and one of his exploits was to disguise himself as a woman when he found Federal officers on his trail. . . . He was the oldest of the three brothers and quite evidently his Mother's favorite, for she left him the House, "Mattapany", and surrounding lands, though my Father was living there at the time, with a wife and three children, and she was living with him. Her husband, my Grandfather, Richard Thomas died at the age of 34 [52?] and left Mattapany to her.

The rest of the land was left to my father and your grandfather (my Uncle Jimmy). My father borrowed money from a Loan Co. in Baltimore and bought the house and home grounds from Col. Zarvona and spent the rest of his life paying for it.

Uncle Jimmy built a home on a beautiful location on a creek and farmed for a few years. I remember their home as most delightful to visit. His daughter, Lena, was about my age, and many were the lovely times we had. He later moved to Baltimore, where I again visited them many times. Lena was the joy and light of the household and, when I was with Uncle Jimmy and Aunt Fannie, they would so often mention her. I think I reminded them of her. But they very seldom mentioned Zarvona. Could it





be that he was born in 76 and d. in 79, almost a baby, whom Lena never saw? Little Lena died when I was only nine years old, but I remember her; she had long curls, was bright and vivacious, and her older brothers teased us both unmercifully. Carroll was the one who usually came to our rescue when the going got too rough. We used to romp all over the house.

Cousin Jimmy was a gentle, good man who never antagonized anyone. He was neither a brunette nor a blond, but had brown hair and hazel eyes and, while not handsome, was goodlooking and always a Southern Gentleman. In his later years he was paralyzed and he and his wife (Aunt Fannie) went down to St. Mary's Co. and stayed in a home one of them owned. It was about 35 miles from Mattapany, which in those horse and buggy days was pretty far off. I stayed with them a good deal, they were both so helpless, and he was always so gentle and considerate of me and Aunt Fannie, in spite of his own suffering, which he rarely mentioned.

My father, George Thomas, was a disciplinarian. He taught his seven sons and two daughters, and prepared for College those of us who wanted a career. He was a just man who never demanded more of us than we were capable of, but he expected and received obedience from us all.

He, like your grandfather, did not make a show of his religion, but was a true Christian and always had morning and evening prayers for the family and guests. He had the courage of his convictions, and one evening when Cardinal Gibbons (Roman Catholic) was visiting the Roman Catholic Church near us, he came and had supper with us. When the meal was over, as was his custom, Father asked one of the children to bring him his Bible and Prayer Book, turned to the Cardinal and said, "Cardinal, we always have evening Prayers and would be glad to have you join us. If you prefer not to, you are at liberty to return to the parlor where we will join you later". The Cardinal smiled and he and his Priest retired to the parlor, while we had our evening prayers. I tell this only to indicate how he never compromised with principle. One of his friends, Gen. Reverdy Johnson, wrote of him "He is as gallant a man and as true a gentleman and as brave a knight as ever rode in tourney or couched a lance for Lady Love"--such a wonderful tribute.

He was tall, 6 ft., fair skin, light brown hair, blue eyes, dignified, and held himself very straight. A true Southern Gentleman, held in respect and admiration by all who knew him. He lived for his family and neighbors and his heart often turned back to his beloved Confederacy. Father had so many historical novels (you might call them) written by his old Confederate pals. Most of them were autographed, and I used to love to read them. I became familiar with so many names that were loved and revered in the South. I always felt the writings and high moral tone of those old Southern Courtiers helped mold my character.

Truly the three Mattapany brothers were men the family can all be proud of, honest Christian gentlemen unstained by the vices of drink and gambling which proved the downfall of so many in those far off days.

It has been a pleasure for me to relive those far off times with you, Armstrong, and I have enjoyed rambling on in my letters to you.

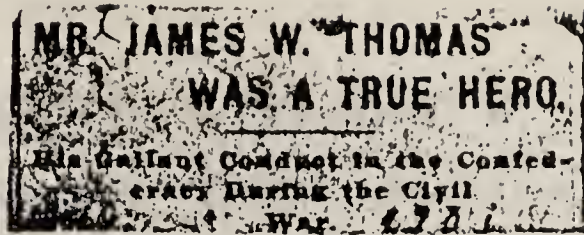
We both send our love.

*Cousin Kitty*





*From the Baltimore American, December --, 1901:*



Dr. St. George W. Teackle, 702 Park avenue, gave some interesting reminiscences last night to a reporter of The American regarding the late James William Thomas, of St. Marys county, Md., whose funeral took place last week. Mr. Thomas, Dr. Teackle stated, although only a sergeant in the Confederate Army, was a real hero. He was raised in luxury, he attended Charlotte Hall, and was a graduate of Princeton. He enlisted at the beginning of the Civil War in the Second Maryland Regiment, and was in many engagements, but strikingly at the battle of Gettysburg was his valor shown. He was in the company that was ordered to charge Culps Hill. This, Dr. Teackle stated, was ordered as a ruse, to allow of the retreat of Lee from Gettysburg. The company, led by Gen. Bradley T. Johnson, moved up hill in dress parade style, although it was a forlorn hope, and the men were simply mowed down. As they fell, other men would close up ranks, and they kept advancing.

Mr. Thomas was very modest, but in conversation with Dr. Teackle, told him that they got so close that they could see the whites of the eyes of their antagonists. They noticed a wavering in the latter's ranks, and a sudden dash might have changed the future of the day. But someone called "Fall back!" This caused a hesitation in the Marylanders' ranks, the enemy took advantage of it and the day was lost.

Mr. Thomas, or Sergeant Thomas, had never left a battlefield without firing his gun. He aimed the latter at a cannoneer preparing to discharge a cannon, and as he did so, Sergeant Thomas fell, shot through the hips. He fell with his legs crossed, and a bullet striking one of them uncrossed his limbs. He then put his arm across his face to protect it, and a bullet struck his arm. He then lost and regained consciousness several times, and about twilight was aroused from his stupor by a Northern general on horseback bending over him and saying that he wanted to find the Second Maryland Regiment.

Sergeant Thomas replied that he was of that regiment and the General then asked him if he knew the Thomas boys, and Sergeant Thomas told him who he was. The officer then told him that he was Gen. Leiper King, a first cousin of John Thomas, who was a first cousin of Sergeant Thomas. General King had him removed and his wounds dressed.

When Sergeant Thomas recovered he reentered the Confederate army and was at the surrender at Appomattox Courthouse. Dr. Teackle said the character of Sergeant Thomas was shown in that his brother, George, dividing his hardtack with him, the Sergeant gave his share away to another hungry soldier.

Sergeant Thomas lived in Baltimore at one time and was formerly in the Water Department, having been appointed by Mayor Hodges. Dr. Teackle said that Richard Thomas, known as "Zarvona, or the French Lady", was a brother of Sergeant Thomas. . . .

[The article concludes with the story of Zarvona, including several misstatements of fact.]





RESOLUTIONS TO THE MEMORY OF  
THE LATE SERGEANT JAMES W. THOMAS, M.C.A.

---

WHEREAS: Sergeant James W. Thomas, a member of the MURRAY CONFEDERATE ASSOCIATION, departed this life at his home in St. Mary's County, on the 21st day of December, 1901;

AND WHEREAS: It is eminently proper and fitting that the ASSOCIATION should put upon record some tribute to the memory of a member and a comrade so worthy and deserving;

BE IT RESOLVED: That in the death of Sergeant THOMAS, the MURRAY CONFEDERATE ASSOCIATION deplores the loss of one of its most honored members, a gallant soldier, and a true gentleman.

Profoundly devoted to the cause of the South, he shouldered his musket at the beginning of the War, and as one of Murray's men, of the Maryland Infantry, C.S.A., followed the Stars and Bars during the memorable four years of the heroic struggle.

Of the many beardless youths who left their homes and their firesides in "Dear Old Maryland", when the War between the States began, none carried into the conflict a more unfaltering devotion and loyalty than Sergeant Thomas. He was an ideal soldier, alert and intelligent in the performance of every duty, always at his post, and in the storm and stress of battle displaying the fortitude and coolness characteristic of the name he bore, and worthy of the Maryland Line that charged at Cowpens and Camden.

Our comrade has crossed "Over the River", to take his honorable place in the fast filling ranks of those who, living and dying, loved the Cause, leaving behind him an untarnished name and a record that must ever be the pride and boast of his descendants.

RESOLVED: That this paper be spread upon the minutes of the ASSOCIATION, and that a copy be sent to the family of our departed Comrade.

---





CAPTAIN GEORGE THOMAS, *from a letter to the Editors, source not known.*

A Gallant Confederate.

Messrs. Editors: As an old Confederate I desire to recount the distinguished merit and services of a comrade recently passed away--a man who made an enviable record in the period of 1861-65. Capt. George Thomas was born in St. Mary's county, Maryland, August 6, 1835. Receiving a liberal education in the schools of his State and at the University of Virginia, on the outbreak of the war in 1861, he went South with other Marylanders, enlisted as a private, and was soon elected first lieutenant in Capt. William H. Murray's Company H, First Maryland Infantry. He participated in the first battle of Manassas July 21, 1861, also Front Royal, Winchester, Harrisonburg, Cross Keys (1862). Company H having served one year was disbanded. Soon after the Second Maryland was formed and he was elected first lieutenant of Captain William H. Murray's Company A. He was appointed acting adjutant and served in that capacity until the battle of Gettysburg, when he succeeded to the captaincy, made vacant by the death of Captain Murray. In the Second Maryland he was present at the battles of Winchester, June 13, 14, and 15, 1863; Gettysburg, July 2, where he was severely wounded in the thigh. Upon recovery he returned to his regiment at Hanover Junction; took part in the brilliant charge at Cold Harbor June 3, 1864, and was so severely wounded in that battle of Pegram's Farm September 30, in the face and side as to unfit him for field service. [Note: in later years Captain George wore a heavy beard to hide the scars of this face injury.] He was detailed to the Ordnance Department in Richmond until the close of the war.

Endowed by nature and education for command, he was always equal to the emergency, and it is believed in a higher rank he would have gained credit for himself and honor for his State. In battle he was cool, gallant, calm, and, in the estimation of his comrades, measured up to the State's high standard, "Deeds, not words".

AMICUS.

\* \* \*

NOTE on photo, page 118: This delightful photograph was on the wall in Grandmother's room in our home in Baltimore. The wistful little girl to the right (described in Cousin Kitty's letter, but without the curls) is positively identified as "Little Lena". Grandmother frequently spoke of Little Lena and Little Zarvona together (they both died at an early age) and I had assumed the boy to be Little Zarvona. However, a check of ages leads to the conclusion that the little boy in the picture, looking as if he is not quite sure of the strange world about him, is Lena's brother, Allison.









GEORGE CALVERT, FIRST LORD BALTIMORE

*by Daniel Mytens, the Elder*





THE HOUSE OF THE LITTLE PRINCE  
IN THE MOUNTAINS

## GENEALOGY

It is not the intention to give here an exhaustive record of the Calvert and Thomas ancestry nor to rewrite the early history of Maryland. But it does seem desirable at least to outline the basic material so that we may better know those who came before us. And, for a more intimate feeling toward them, it is not considered inappropriate to include letters written by individuals, even though the content of such correspondence may appear trivial.

In this section George Norbury Mackenzie's "Colonial Families of the United States of America", Vol. IV, has been a most valuable source, and special attention has been given to the many omissions and errors contained therein. Harry Wright Newman has been of great help not only as to genealogy but also historical data are quoted from his "The Flowering of the Maryland Palatinate". Billie (Mrs. Kenelm) Dallam has contributed in helping to disentangle the Brookes, Boarmans, and Gardiners. Other information as to the Calverts has come from various Maryland Historical Society publications. Present-day data on present-day Thomases have been furnished by a dozen or so present-day Thomases. Pages 153-157 of this book are for individual family branches and have been reproduced only for copies 1 to 10; the remaining copies are blank for these pages and are to be filled in as may be desired by the branches concerned. *all*

### THE CALVERTS

Sir George Calvert, First Lord Baltimore, was the son of Leonard Calvert de Kipling, gent. and Alice Crosland (Alicia Crossland), sole heiress of John Crosland of Crosland. Recent research reveals that Leonard married a second time, the second wife being Grace Crosland, daughter of Thomas Crosland of Crosland Hill; Grace was only a few years older than her stepson. The Croslands were an ancient family, influential and respected. The relationship of the two Crosland wives is not established.

Descendants from the Calverts should take pride in that the official Maryland State flag, the most beautiful and "individual" of our fifty state flags, includes both the Calvert and Crosland arms or designs: the two black and gold sections are the Calvert colors, the red and silver parts are Crosland. The Maryland flag is our "family" flag.

It is believed that the Calverts had their origin in Flanders. When they received official sanction to use of coat of arms in 1622 it was recorded by an Antwerp antiquarian that the family was "a Noble and auntient familie in the Earldom of Flanders". Newman states that "It was perhaps in the fourteen-hundreds that the English progenitor crossed the channel and settled in County York and became a breeder of sheep--no doubt sending the wool back to his kinsmen in Flanders to be made into cloth--for Flanders in that day was the principal center of the textile-weaving industry. The senior members prospered and their land holdings increased until the family was rated among the lesser county gentry, though it had never proved itself capable of using armorial trappings. The personal charm and integrity of the younger generations contracted marriages with heiresses [as did some Thomases in later years] of the county squirarchy and eventually the family took its place among the recognized gentry of York".





Sir George was born in 1580 and was graduated from Trinity College, Oxford in 1597. From 1606 to 1624 he served in the House of Commons. In 1617 he was knighted by James I; he thereafter was appointed Secretary of State and High Lord of the Treasury. In 1625 the king, only a month before his death, created Sir George a Peer of the Realm with an Irish barony. As a court favorite he received large grants both from James I and Charles I.

In 1621 George had established a colony at his own expense in New Found Land which he called Ferryland; two years later the Royal Charter granted him a lordship over the vast surrounding area, the Province of Avalon, with the most extensive powers ever bestowed by the English Crown on a single subject. George visited the colony in 1627 and again in 1628, actually set up a residence there with Lady Baltimore (his second wife, Joan), his son Leonard, and other members of the family. But he found the climate severe, and he writes to the King as follows:

*From the midst of October to the midst of May there is a sad face of winter upon all this land, both sea and land so frozen for the greatest part of the time as they are not penetrable no plant or vegetable thing appearing out of the earth until it be about the beginning of May, nor fish in the sea besides the air so intollerable cold as it is hardly to be endured. By means whereof, and of much salt meat, my house has been a hospital all this winter, of 100 persons 50 sick at a time, myself being one and nine or ten of them died. Hereupon I have had strong temptations to leave all proceedings in plantations, and being much decayed in my strength to retire myself to my former quiet; but my inclination carrying me naturally to these kind of works, and not knowing how better to employ the poor remainder of my days than with other good subjects to further the best I may the enlarging your Majesty's empire in this part of the world I am determined to commit this place to fishermen that are better able to encounter storms and hard weather, and to remove myself with some 40 persons to your Majesty's dominion of Virginia, where if your Majesty will please to grant me a precinct of land with such privileges as the King your father my gracious master was pleased to grant me here, I shall endeavour to the utmost of my power to deserve it and pray for your Majesty's long and happy reign as*

Ferryland  
19 August 1629

*your Majesty's most humble &  
faithful subject & servant*

*Geo Baltimore*

Sir George sailed from Avalon with his family to Jamestowne in October 1629 but, receiving hostile treatment from the Virginians, he returned to England. (Because he thus deserted Avalon, leaving but a handful of colonists there, King Charles granted the province to others some eight years later but, it is interesting to note, the Calverts continued to claim the province for many years thereafter, the Lord Proprietary styling himself Charles' Absolute Lord & Proprietary of the Province of Maryland and Avalon in America & Baron of Baltimore in the Kingdom of Ireland.)

That part of Virginia, now the area of Maryland and Delaware, was granted to Sir George, but he died in England April 1632 before the charter





had received the royal seal. The charter then was issued in June of that year to George's son Cecilius (or Cecil), the Second Lord Baltimore, with all the rights given to his deceased father.

The organization, planning, selling of stock, etc. for the voyage to America was carried on by Cecilius, but many of the details were delegated to Leonard, his younger brother, who was to accompany the adventurers to the new colony, and who was to be overlord and governor of the new province. The Ark and the Dove, after long preparation, set sail from London late in October 1633 with perhaps 200 adventurers; but there were delays and the ships did not leave Cowes in the Isle of Wight until 22 November. I wonder why the winter months were chosen for the voyage; it would seem that the natural hazards of the trip were sufficient without the additional discomfort of the winter cold. But we, anno Domini 1962, are in no position to give our advice; after a stormy voyage, with many mishaps including loss of rudder from the Ark, apparent loss of the Dove, a 20-day stopover in the Bahamas, the adventurers reached the site of the new colony in March 1634.

Thus it was George Calvert, First Lord Baltimore, who was the virtual founder of Maryland. But Cecil, Second Lord Baltimore, was the actual organizer of the colony; from across the ocean he administered the important affairs of the province through his brother Leonard, the first Governor of Maryland. Neither George nor Cecil ever visited the colony. The following paragraph, giving data on Leonard and his daughter Anne from whom the Thomases are descended, is taken directly from Newman without benefit of quotes nor indications of omissions therefrom.

The entire early history of Maryland centered around the life of Leonard Calvert, Esq., the sixth child but second son of George, first Baron of Baltimore. He was only twenty-three when he embarked on the task of consummating his father's plans in the New World, but he had already been in Avalon and at Jamestown and knew the country and economic conditions and the varied problems needed to guide the colonists. One great mystifying element was his personal life. There is no evidence of a marriage before sailing in November 1633 for Maryland, and he certainly led the life of a bachelor in Maryland for ten or more years until his return to England in April 1643, leaving his friend, Giles Brent, Esq., the Acting Governor. He remained away from Maryland for about 17 months, and during that period in England, according to tradition, he begot two children--William and Anne. He returned to his post in Maryland and presumably left the infants in the care of a nurse. The mother or his consort did not accompany him. It has generally been stated in print with absolutely no documentation that he married Anne, one of the many daughters of Richard Brent, and sister to Giles, Fulkes, Margaret, and Mary--all of whom came to Maryland. No proof of this marriage can be found. Although Mistress Anne Brent no doubt saw Governor Calvert during his visit to England, as the two families had been intimate before the settlement of Maryland, she continued to live a single life in England, and in 1651 was listed as a non-juror spinster. A diligent search has been made in England for proof of his marriage, or the mother of his children, but with failure each time. [Mr. Newman twice on personal trips to England has searched English records as well as others.] The mention of a wife at no time appears in the Calvert Papers or among the Archives of Maryland. When Leonard Calvert was ill and realized that his end was near, he made no mention whatsoever of his two children or their mother. With him were Mistress Margaret Brent, his friend Thomas





Green, Francis Ankatill the priest, and Madam Mary Beane. Thomas Greene testified in court that Leonard Calvert lying on his death bed about six hours before his passing, "directed his speech to Mistress Brent" and said "I make you my sole Executrix. Take all and pay all". He then requested every one to leave the room except Mistress Brent with whom he conferred privately for some time. It is wondered if Mistress Margaret were aware that Governor Calvert had left a legal male heir to his landed estate and a daughter who was entitled to her filial share of the personalty. In his closing hours he expressed no concern or affections for his children or wife nor provided for them in any manner--yet Margaret did not reveal the private conference. If she did have knowledge of his children, no evidence is forthcoming from the extant archives, letters, and other documents of that period. Only personalty could be bequeathed by a nuncupative will, but the amazing Amazon, Mistress Margaret Brent, exercised literally her prerogatives in the Governor's last words when he said "take all", and immediately possession was taken of the Governor's mansion in St. Mary's City. She furthermore assumed feudal rights on his three baronial manors. Some fourteen years after the death of Leonard Calvert, or in or about 1661, appeared in Maryland a youth of not more than 18 years of age who declared himself to be William Calvert, Esq., the son and heir of Leonard Calvert. From subsequent law suits it is implied that Cecilius, Lord Baltimore, and uncle of the orphan had been his guardian--thus indicating that he was raised in England. At that time Mistress Margaret Brent had retired from the Maryland scene and in her old age was residing at her plantation in Westmoreland County, Virginia. William Calvert through Thomas Manning, the Attorney-General of the Province, instituted court action for the possession of his father's landed estate. The jury recognized the paternity and the land was restored to him. About two years after the arrival of William Calvert, the guardians of his sister, Anne, sent her to Maryland. On September 6, 1663, the Hon. Charles Calvert writing to his father Cecilius said, *"My Cozen Wm sister arrived here and is now at my house and has the care of my household affaires, as yett noe good match does present, but I hope in a short time she may find one to her own content & yrs Lopps desire, I shall further what I can towards it, I have acquainted her Brother what yr Lopp expect--he should doe for her, but in case he does not, or be not in a Condiscon to doe much I shall take care she shall not want as long as she remains with me. There came with her two maids one to wait upon her & the other to my selge"*. It is quite obvious that Anne was sent to Maryland to acquire a husband; she asquired in all three husbands. The first was Colonel Baker Brooke, Esq., son and heir of Robert Brooke, Esq., of Brooke Place Manor, Calvert County, one time an ordained clergyman of the Church of England. Her second was Henry Brent, a kinsman of the astonishing Mistress Margaret Brent, and her third was Richard Marsham, Gent., who survived her.

Anne Calvert had issue only by her first husband. But note the chart of the Thomas ancestry through the Calverts given on a later page. Richard Marsham, who came from England in 1658 and who died in 1713, had a daughter Catherine by a previous marriage who married Anne's son, Baker Brooke the second. The chart shows Thomas ancestry through two separate lines; however, in this connection, Mr. Newman writes me that "frankly I do not believe that Benedict Leonard Boarman married Anne Brooke, the daughter of Baker Brook 2d. Yet I do not know whom the said Benedict married. His widow was Anne, however". For the issue of Anne Calvert Brooke, see the Maryland Historical Magazine, vol. 1.

The Maryland Historical Society has in its possession a treasure of origi-





nal Calvert papers acquired largely from the collection of Col. Frederick Henry Harford, of Down Place, near Windsor, the great grandson of Frederick, the last Lord Baltimore. Col. Albert Ritchie, in formally presenting the papers to the Society in 1888 states: "During the supremacy of the Lords Proprietary, they resided at their homes abroad, and were represented here by their Governors. They, however, to a large extent, themselves exercised the ample powers which they possessed, and maintained an active participation in the government of the province. Frequent and full reports of the condition of affairs were from time to time transmitted to them, as were also many important official papers requiring their consideration and action". To illustrate the style of the correspondence between the Calverts, I give below several examples:

GOV. LEONARD CALVERT to LORD BALTIMORE, preceded by endorsement of Baltimore, evidently for filing purposes.

25 April 1638. My Bro: Leonard to me. from Virginea. the taking of the Isle of Kent. Palmers Iland. what number of people & cattle upon them. Portobacke. Cedar redd-bird matts & Lyon.

Good Brother:

I have endeavored this last winter to bring the Inhabitants of the Isle of Kent willingly to submit themselves to your government & to encourage them thereunto I wrote unto them a letter in Nouember, where amongst other motiues I used to perswade them, I promised to free them from all question of any former contempts they had committed against you, so that they would from thence forward desist from the like and submit themselves . . . I had procured a red bird and kept it a good while to have sent it to you but I had the ill fortune to loose it by the negligence of my servant who carelessly let it out of the cage . . . The Lyon I had for you is dead, if I can get an other I will send it to you. . . . I have writ unto you concerneing the deer you sent for in an other letter by it selfe sent herewith as you appointed me. Thus with best loue and seruice to my sister Baltimore and my other two sisters and my Brother Peaseley I rest.

Your most affectionate

from Virginia

Loueing Brother

this 25<sup>th</sup> of Aprill  
1638.

Leonard Calvert

CECILIUS, LORD BALTIMORE, to GOVERNOR LEONARD CALVERT.

Good Brother

By M<sup>r</sup> Ingles Shipp wh is now in the Downes I sent a large dispatch to you as you will find in my note inclosed. I forgott in my former letters to giue you thanks wh I now doe, for yor kindness shewen to Jo: Langford, wh, by his letters to me, he sayes hath been very much: I take it very kindly from you, and I pray continue it; for he will deserue it I make no doubt from you, and I shall requite it in due time to you. . . . Take care therefore also I pray to accomodate the said M<sup>r</sup> Territt with a convenient place to sojourne in there: and I shall, as I formerly wrote, pay the charge of it. . . . I pray hasten the designe you wrote unto me of this yeare, of bringing all the Indians of that province to surrender their interest and right to me, . . . Me thinkes the Indians who are christened, if their conversion be reall, might be brought to assist in their labours. . . . You may tell M<sup>r</sup> Kemp by let-





ter from you, or otherwise, that if a Declaration may be obtained from the generall Assembly in Virginea this next yeare, wch may import a settlement of friendship between me & that Colony and an allowance & approbation of my Pattent . . . and a condemnation of Cleybornes proceedings in the Isle of Kent and elsewhere towards me, and that I and my Colony may have free trade . . . but vnless all those things afore-said concerning me be first done by them: I will not trouble myself wth them. Soe expecting to heare from you concerning this business wherein I would not haue you negligent, I rest,

London

21 Nou. 1642.

Your most affectionate louing

Brother

GOVERNOR CHARLES CALVERT to CECILIUS, LORD BALTIMORE

SEAL  
CALVERT ARMS  
with a  
Label.

For The Right Hon<sup>ble</sup>  
The Lord Baltimore  
These p<sup>rsnt</sup>  
p Capt. Cooke.

May it Please Your Lopp--

I shall now endeauour to give y<sup>r</sup> Lopp an Accompt of what I haue done as to Lopps Comands in the last & This yeares letters but I shall first humbly begg y<sup>r</sup> Lopps pardon that I haue nott done it sooner:

27<sup>th</sup> May 1662. Your Lopp was pleas'd in that beter to comand me to procure some Elke Calues two Males and two Femalls, I haue used all my endeauours possible but can procure none as yet . . .

[here continues about 20 pages of various dated reports]

Now may it please y<sup>r</sup> Lopp in answer to what y<sup>r</sup> Lopp writt about my going for England next shipping wch I haue an earnest desire to if things be soe settled here that I may haue desire to retorne back againe by the same shipping . . . but in whose hands to leaue the Gouvern<sup>t</sup> in untill I come back is that I am att a stand att, . . . & I haue great cause to feare, that I shall find much confusion at my retorne . . . I shall most chearefully & wth greate deale of desire prepare for my going for England next yeare to see y<sup>r</sup> Lopp then nothing can bring soe much satisfaction & comfort to him whoe remaines as ever

Your Lopps Most duti<sup>ff</sup>ull

April 27<sup>th</sup> 1664--

Sonne

Charles Caluert

I haue sent y<sup>r</sup> Lopp Bills of Exchange in this Box & haue giuen some papers to M<sup>r</sup> Sewall to discourse wth y<sup>r</sup> Lopp about the Alienation office wch the last Assembly gaue to me to offer to y<sup>r</sup> Lopp as theire humble request wch if granted by y<sup>r</sup> Lopp will soe much gaine them that it may bring more then doubling the Rents soe would haue come to. I shall take care of the Secreatys Office untill M<sup>r</sup> Sewall comes Back or that I heare from y<sup>r</sup> Lopp--

Excerpts from WILL of SIR GEORGE CALVERT LORD BALTIMORE dated 14 Ap: 1632 and proved on 21 of the same month in the prerogative Court of Canterbury.

IN THE NAME OF GOD AMEN I Sir George Caluert Knight Lord Baltimore being sicke of bodie but well in minde doe hereby declare my last will, and Testament to be ffirst I doe bequeath my soule to God, and my bodie to the ground. ITEM I doe bequeath my lands, goods, and chattells of what nature soeuer to my eldest sonne Cicill Caluert either in England,





or Ireland, and elsewhere . . . [Sir George mentions in his will his children: Hellen (whom he left 1200 pounds), Leonard, George (who sailed on the Arc with Leonard, but who died within six months after the settlement at St. Mary's, aged 22 years), Henry, Phillipp, Anne (wife of William Peaseley), and Grace (wife of Robert Talbot).] Among items listed in the inventory: His Lopps apparrell, his Lopps bookes, one thousand waight of badd Virginnia Tobacco; goods and ymplements of house & householdstuffe remayning in his Lopps house in the backside of Lincolnes Inne seilde vizt. -- in the dining roome: ten green cloth cheyres, two great green Arming cheyres, two Carpetts of cloth w<sup>th</sup> gilded leather, brass and yron Andyrans, snufffers bellows; in the bedchamber: one green bedd laced and the bedding belonging to it, one Cupbord, two litle window curtaines & small pieces of stuffe about the roome, a table w<sup>th</sup> green cloth carpet on it; in the kitchin: pewter and tynne vessells, vessells of brasse & yron & other ymplements of the kitchin; in the hall: a settle beadd w<sup>th</sup> a flockbedd and bedclothes to it, three ioyned stooles, a fireshovell and tonges, Lumbar in and about the house . . .

\* \* \*

The portrait of Governor LEONARD CALVERT, reproduced on next page, is from a copy of the portrait painted by Miss Florence Mackubin for the Society of the Arc and the Dove. It was presented by the Society to the State of Maryland and hangs in the State House in Annapolis.







LEONARD CALVERT 1608-1647  
First Governor of Maryland, 1634-1647





THE YAWNER IS A YAWNER, 1911  
 BY THE YAWNER, 1911

LEONARD CALVERT de Kipling, m Alicia Crossland

v

SIR GEORGE CALVERT, 1580-1632, First Lord Baltimore

v

CECILIUS, 1606-1675

Second Lord Baltimore

m Anne Arundell

v

CHARLES, 1637-1715

Third Lord Baltimore

m 1665 JANE, widow of Hon.

HENRY SEWALL, Secty. of the province, who built Mattapanymansion

v

BENEDICT LEONARD, 1679-1715

Fourth Lord Baltimore

m Lady Charlotte Lee

v

CHARLES, 1699-1751

Fifth Lord Baltimore

v

FREDERICK, 1731-1771

Sixth Lord Baltimore

m Lady Diana Egerton

died with no heirs

(v)

Henry Harford

Frederick's natural son

last Proprietary, 1771-1776



CALVERT

LEONARD CALVERT, 1608-1647

First Governor of Maryland, 1634-1647

m 164- wife unknown

v

ANNE CALVERT

b 164- in England, d after 1709

m 1664

COL. BAKER BROOKE, 1628-1679

v

BAKER BROOKE, d 1698

m

CATHERINE MARSHAM

dau of Anne Calvert's

third husband, Richard

v

ANNE BROOKE

m 1710?

BENEDICT LEONARD BOARMAN

b 1687, d 1757

son of Maj. Wm. Boarman by

third wife, Mary Jarboe

v

RICHARD BASIL BOARMAN . . . m . . .

d 1782

(second cousins)

v

CATHERINE BOARMAN, 1760-1812

Heiress of De La Brooke Manor

m 1782

MAJ. WILLIAM THOMAS, JR., 1758-1813

son of Maj. William Thomas, 1714-95 of Deep Falls

LEONARD BROOKE, d 1718

m

ANNE BOARMAN

dau of Maj. Wm. Boarman by

first wife, Sarah

v

ELINOR BROOKE, d 1760

m

CLEMENT GARDINER

d 1746?

.

v

.

ANNE GARDINER

d 1792?







## ANCESTRY FROM FIRST THOMAS SETTLER

### THOMAS THOMAS

came from England, it is said, from County Sussex, and 1 June 1652 demanded a warrant for 600 acres for transporting himself, wife Elizabeth, son James, and three servants into the Province in 1651. He received a warrant with one Bill Batten to have laid off for him 1000 acres on the north side of the Patuxent, over against or near Buzzard Island. On 31 March 1656 he was one of the High Commissioners of the Provincial Court held in Patuxent, Maryland. His son,

### JAMES THOMAS, 16xx-1701

of "Ware", Charles County, Maryland was born in England before 1651. His will dated 7 June 1701 was probated 29 November 1701. His wife's first name was Teratia. Their issue: Thomas, Anna Mary, and

### JOHN THOMAS, 1682-1757

of Charles County. His will was dated 30 April 1756 and probated 7 July 1757. His wife's name is unknown as she predeceased him. Issue: John, Leonard, James, Jane, Elizabeth, and

### MAJ. WILLIAM THOMAS, 1714-1795

of "Deep Falls", St. Mary's County; born in Charles County; commissioned in 1754 Major of the County Militia; delegate to the Revolutionary Convention in 1775; Member of the House of Delegates 1761 and 1768-71; Member of the General Assembly 1777-81. Before 1750 he married Elizabeth Reeves. Their issue: Col. John of the Continental Army, Member of the Legislature, President of the Senate of Maryland; William (see below); George, Member of the House of Delegates; James, served in the Continental Army, wounded at Yorktown; Elizabeth, married Maj. William Courts (their daughter, Eliza Courts, married her first cousin, Dr. James Thomas, Governor of Maryland).

### MAJ. WILLIAM THOMAS, Jr., 1758-1813

born at "Deep Falls"; married Catherine Brooke Boarman (1760-1812), heiress of "De La Brooke Manor" [note tie-on with the Calvert line, previous page]; lieutenant in the Continental Army and later major in the famous Maryland Line; Judge of the Orphans Court of St. Mary's County, 1797-1800; Chief Judge of the County Court, 1800-1802; Member of the General Assembly 1791-96 and 1802-13; President of the Maryland Senate 1806-1813. Issue:

JAMES THOMAS, M.D., 1785-1845, of "Deep Falls", Governor of Maryland from 1832, serving two terms, then the constitutional limit; married his first cousin, Elizabeth Courts, daughter of Maj. William and Elizabeth (Thomas) Courts. Line: Waring, Dallam, Briscoe, Brome, Parran.

GEORGE THOMAS, 1791-1856, of "De La Brooke", Judge of the Orphans Court of St. Mary's County; married Mary Tubman. Line: Sothoron, Forbes, Shaw, Coad, Stoddert, Slingluff, Mackubin, Nelson, Calvert.





WILLIAM THOMAS, M.D., 1793-1849, of "Cremona"; married Elizabeth Tubman (sister of Mary, above) and second wife Elizabeth Lansdale.  
Line: Ford, Briscoe, Blakistone, Mitchell, Lieper.

MAJ. RICHARD THOMAS, 1797-1849, of "Mattapany", Speaker of the House of Delegates, President of the Senate; married JANE WALLACE ARMSTRONG (1789-1871), daughter of James and Jane (Cocks) Armstrong. Issue:  
ANDREW THOMAS, dates unknown, died in his "minority"  
RICHARD THOMAS (ZARVONA), 1833-1875  
GEORGE THOMAS, 1835-1903  
JAMES WILLIAM THOMAS, 1840-1901,  
the latter three gentlemen being the inspiration for this family history.

MATILDA THOMAS, married Col. GEORGE BRENT, of Charles County. Their son, the Hon. GEORGE BRENT, was Judge of the Maryland Court of Appeals and Chief Judge of the Seventh Judicial District; he married Catherine Merrick. The Brents had eleven children, nine girls and two boys. The sons, William and George, had New York addresses when last heard from.

ANNE THOMAS, 1798-1862, married the Hon. Thompson Mason, of Loudon County, Virginia. There were two daughters: Maria Thomas Courts Mason and Matilda Brent Mason. The latter was born in St. Augustine, Florida in 1835, married Samuel Raborg, C.S.A., and died 1884 in Emmitsburg, Maryland. There were four children: H. Mason Raborg of New York, 1862-1913; Thomas Mason Thompson Raborg, born 1874; Anita, who entered a convent; and Matilda.

CATHERINE THOMAS, the seventh and last offspring of Major William Thomas, Jr., was second wife of the Hon. WILLIAM DUHURST MERRICK, of Charles County, Maryland, the U.S. Senator who gave the casting vote for the admission of Texas as a State. He was offered grants of land and township in Texas if he would come there and live, but he refused such offers, not desiring to take anything that looked like a reward for his vote. His first wife was Margaret Matthews. His issue by first marriage were the Hon. William Matthews Merrick, Judge of the Circuit Court of Washington, who married Mary Wickliffe of Kentucky, and Thomas Duhurst Merrick, who died young. His issue by second marriage were: Richard Thomas Merrick, of Washington, D.C., born 1826, served in the Mexican War and made Captain at Battle of Cerro Gorda, prominent Washington lawyer, and who married Annie McGuire (there were nine children); Catherine Merrick, born 1831, married Judge George Brent [see Matilda Thomas above] and had eleven children; Ann Josephine Merrick, born 1833, married Vivian Brent, no issue; and the Hon. George Clarence Merrick, born 1839, Judge Seventh Judicial Circuit of Maryland, and who married Alice Maria Waring, of Prince George's County, with issue--eight children.

We have traced ancestry through the Calverts to Major William Thomas, Jr. who died in 1813, and the Thomases from the first Thomas settler to this same Major Thomas. We have given Major Thomas's seven children, ending with Catherine Thomas above; in his four sons we have four main branches of the family--Deep Falls, De La Brooke, Cremona, and Mattapany. These will be given in the next four sections but, since our record is chiefly concerned with the Mattapany branch, this will be treated in greater detail.





## "DEEP FALLS" BRANCH

JAMES THOMAS, M.D., Governor of Maryland, was born 11 March 1785 and died 25 December 1845. He graduated from St. John's College in 1804 and received his M.D. from Philadelphia Medical College in 1807. He became prominent in his profession. In 1813 he was commissioned Major of the 4th Maryland Calvary and did active service in the War of 1812-14, and subsequently was brevetted Major-General. He was variously Judge of the Orphans Court of St. Mary's County, Senatorial elector, Member of the House of Delegates; in 1826 he was elected to the Maryland Senate where he served until 1832 when he was elected Governor, serving two successive terms. Mackenzie writes that "his gubernatorial incumbency was at a critical period in the history of Maryland and was marked with wisdom, firmness, and dignity. The 'Nat Turner' and 'Southampton' insurrections during the 'Abolition' agitation created the gravest alarm in Maryland. He submitted a message to the Legislature discussing with great clearness, ability, and firmness this vital question; and few men of his day or generation occupied a more commanding position at the time than Governor Thomas". In the Baltimore *SUNDAY SUN* of 10 February 1907 there appeared an article on Governor Thomas, one of a series of biographies of Maryland governors written by Heinrich Buchholz. The article was not altogether complimentary and it was bitterly attacked in *THE SUN* of 18 February in two letters--both dated 12 February, both over 1250 words long--the one was signed by Armstrong Thomas, Baltimore, and the other by James Walter Thomas, Cumberland. "Our" Governor Thomas is not to be confused with another Maryland governor, Francis Thomas, whose family to my knowledge is not our kin, and whose family arms is embellished with ravens. Governor James Thomas married in 1808 his first cousin, ELIZABETH COURTS, born 1789 in Charles County, died in 1851; she was the daughter of Maj. William and Elizabeth (Thomas) Courts, he of the Maryland Line and a nephew of General William Smallwood.

Cov. Thomas had seven children. Five of the children either died at an early age, or were unmarried. They were: William Henry, 1808-1814; Elizabeth, 1811-1888; Henry William, 1814-1878; Catherine, 1822-1823; and George Presly, 1831-1832. A daughter, Ann Maria, born 1817, married in 1838 Dr. James Waring of Prince George County and had nine children. Despite this large family, however, the Waring branch appears to have died out. Fortunately there was one son to carry on the "Deep Falls" line. He was--

JAMES RICHARD THOMAS, planter, 1826-1885, married in 1854 JEANETTE ELEANOR BRISCOE, 1837-1881, daughter of Dr. Walter Hanson Stone Briscoe of "Sotterley", St. Mary's County and Emeline Wellmore Dallam, daughter of John Dallam of Harford County. There were eight children:

1. JAMES WALTER THOMAS, 1855-1926, lawyer and author of "Chronicles of Colonial Maryland", of Deep Falls and Cumberland, Maryland. He married in 1884 Susan McLain Smith, who died in 1914; she was the daughter of Dr. James Maxwell Smith and Susan Maxwell McLain of Cumberland. They had a son, James McLain, born in 1886, died in infancy.

2. ELIZA EMELINE, 1859-1924. She married in 1876 James Thomas Brome, 1847-1910, planter, of St. Mary's. They had four girls:





- a. SUSETTE I. BROME, 1877-1929, who married James M. Bennett in 1918.
- b. MARGARET BROME, born in 1879, and who died in infancy.
- c. JEANNETTE ELEANOR BROME, born in 1882, now living in St. Mary's City. In 1916 she married John Spence Howard, 1884-1950. They had two boys:

JOHN SPENCE HOWARD, JR., born 1919, and who married Helen C. Garner.

THOMAS BROME HOWARD, born 1921. In 1946 he married Blanche Loomis Spades, with issue as follows:

THOMAS BROME HOWARD, JR., born 1947.

MYRON SPENCE HOWARD, born 1948.

MARK LOOMIS HOWARD, born 1950.

ALLEN CURTIS HOWARD, born 1953.

MARGUERITE ELEANOR HOWARD, born 1956.

- d. EMMA T. BROME, born in 1884, and who died in infancy.

3. ANN ELIZABETH, 1859-1933. In 1893 she married John Grey Hopkins Lilburn, of St. Mary's. He died in 1918.

4. JEANETTE ELEANOR, 1862-1961. In 1890 she married James Bourne Parran of Baltimore, son of William John and Sara Rebecca (Bourne) Parran of Calvert County. They had one daughter,

- a. JEANETTE BRISCOE PARRAN, born in 1892, and died 1962 in Baltimore.

5. HENRY BRISCOE, M.D., 1864-1922, a leading physician of Baltimore. In 1893 he married Helen Carey Coale, 1869-1933, daughter of Isaac and Helen (McDowell) Coale of Baltimore. They had four sons:

- a. HENRY BRISCOE, JR., 1894-1940. In 1917 he married Anne Mason Banks, daughter of Anne Mason Wilson and Andrew Banks, Jr., and they had four sons:

HENRY BRISCOE, born 1918. In 1946 he married Rebecca Nicholson Lucas, born 1920, and they have three girls:

REBECCA LUCAS, born 1947.

ANN MASON, born 1948.

MARGARET BRISCOE, born 1950.

ROBERT MASON, born 1920. In 1951 he married Helen Whitridge Bruce, and they have three children:

HELEN WHITRIDGE, born 1952.

ELIZABETH COURTS, born 1954.

ROBERT MASON, JR., born 1958.

JAMES RICHARD, born 1925. He married Mary McCormick, born in 1927, and they have four children:

MARY STUART, born 1951.

JAMES RICHARD, JR., born 1955.

HENRY BRISCOE, born 1957.

WILLIAM MCCORMICK, born 1962.

ANDREW BANKS, born 1927. In 1956 he married Dorothy Ridgely, and they have two children:

ANDREW BANKS, JR., born 1958.

EMILY POWELL, born 1960.

- b. JAMES RICHARD, 1896-1898.

- c. EDWARD McDOWELL, 1899-1941.

- d. JAMES WALTER, 1909-1940. In 1937 he married Camilla Hopkins Howard. They had a daughter,

HELEN CAREY COALE, born 1939.





6. WARING, 1866-1927, married Margaret Creamer of San Francisco. They had one daughter,  
a. RUTH, who died about 1937.

7. NANNIE, born 1869, died in infancy.

8. MARY ELLA LEWIS, born 1879, now living in Baltimore. In 1902 she married her cousin, Thomas Rowland Thomas, 1874-1923, son of Dr. James and Nannie (Nelson) Thomas, she the daughter of William Douglas Nelson of Westmoreland County, Virginia.

#### "DE LA BROOKE" BRANCH

GEORGE THOMAS, 1791-1856, was the second son of Major William and Catherine (Boarman) Thomas. He graduated from Charlotte Hall in 1809. He was First-Lieutenant in Captain Forrest's 4th Maryland Calvary in the War of 1812. From 1822 to 1832 he was Judge of the Orphans Court of St. Mary's County. He married Mary Tubman (who died in 1872), daughter of Major Henry and Elizabeth (Sothoron) Tubman of St. Mary's and granddaughter of Henry Greenfield and Mary (Bond) Sothoron of Chaptice Manor. They had eight children:

1. ELIZA CATHERINE, 1812-1895. She married James John Forbes of St. Mary's County, Lieut. USN, son of James John and Eleanor (Lane) Forbes. There were three daughters:
  - a. MARY GEORGE FORBES.
  - b. CATHERINE FORBES, who married F. Fleckenstine.
  - c. ELIZABETH JANE FORBES, who married Joseph Ford Shaw, son of Dr. Joseph Ford and Rebecca (Thomas) Shaw of Shaw's Retreat, St. Mary's County, he the son of the Rev. Neale Hammell and Ann (Ford) Shaw. They had eight children:
    - EDWARD FORD SHAW, who married Clara Smith of Minnesota. They had two girls: Margaret and Jane.
    - JAMES JOHN FORBES SHAW. He married Harriet Alexander Hereford of West Virginia, daughter of U.S. Senator Frank Hereford and Alice Caperton. They had three daughters: Alice Caperton, Elizabeth Forbes, and Harriet Hereford.
    - JOSEPH FORD SHAW, who married Margaret McGreggor. Issue: Elizabeth, Margaret, and Nelson.
    - MARY CATHERINE SHAW, who married J. Frank Coad, Vice-Principal of Charlotte Hall Academy. Issue: Elizabeth, Rodman, Frank, Catherine, and Eleanor.
    - CHARLES ALLISON NEALE SHAW, who married Lucy Logan Cooper.
    - JAMES THOMAS SHAW.
    - ELIZABETH FORBES SHAW, who married Louis Hergenrather. Issue: Louis Forbes, Elizabeth Shaw, Louis, Deborah, and Joseph Ford Shaw.
    - ELLA MACKAY SHAW, who married John Odenheimer. Issue: Ann Fawcett and John.

2. MARY ANN, 1813-1814.

3. WILLIAM HENRY, 1815-1866, of "Brambly", St. Mary's County. He was Member of the Maryland Assenbly, 1840-42, 1844. In 1845 he married





Eleanor Mackubin (1827-1901), daughter of George and Eleanor (Mac-cubin) Mackubin, who was for many years Treasurer of Maryland. They had six children:

- a. MARY, 1848-1893 (or -1899). She married George R. Garner and had issue: Lola Wood, Henry, William, Catherine who married Frank Matthews, Eleanor who married Dr. French Owens, and Mary who married S. Sprigg Reeves.
  - b. MATILDA, 1850-1908.
  - c. JOHN TRUMAN HAWKINS, 1856-1940, of "Brambly". For many years he was Chairman of the Board of Trustees, Charlotte Hall.
  - d. GEORGE, M.D., 1858-1897, diagnostician and Secretary of the College of Physicians and Surgeons (which in later years was incorporated into the U. of Md.). In 1888 he married Elizabeth Merriwether Hammond (1861-1945), daughter of Judge Edward and Mary Catherine (Mackubin) Hammond of Howard County. Issue:  
ELEANOR MACKUBIN, 1892-1931.  
GEORGE, born 1895. In 1946 he married Katherine Rose Dudley, born 1904, daughter of Charles Bradford and Anna Comegys Dudley. They reside in Baltimore.
  - e. WILLIAM HENRY, 1861-1924, of Westminster, Maryland, Chief Judge of the Fifth Judicial District of Maryland and Associate Judge of the Court of Appeals. In 1889 he married Catherine Agnes Roberts (1871-1952), daughter of the Hon. Charles Boyle Roberts, a judge of the Fifth Circuit and from 1884 to 1888 Attorney-General of Maryland, and Annie M. Mathias. Issue:  
CHARLES ROBERTS, M.D., born 1891, of Chattanooga, Tennessee. He married Louise Raht Llewellyn, born 1894. They have two children:  
MATILDA, born 1921. In 1951 she married Daniel West Oehmig.  
WILLIAM HENRY, born 1933. In 1956 he married Margaret Mathews.  
ELEANOR CARROLL MACKUBIN, 1892-1949.  
CATHERINE AGNES ROBERTS, 1895-1956. She married William Grant Schwarz and they have two children:  
ELEANOR MACKUBIN THOMAS who married Paul Wood, and  
ANN ELIZABETH THOMAS who married Albert Haskell, Jr.  
ANN ELIZABETH ROBERTS, born 1898. In 1918 she married William Ritchie Semans and they have two children:  
WILLIAM RITCHIE, JR., born 1919. In 1944 he married Ann-Rosemary Conyers.  
TRUMAN THOMAS, born 1926. In 1961 he married Nellie Merrick.
  - f. SARAH CLARE, 1864-1883.
4. MARY, born 1818. She married James Lockett. Issue:
- a. JAMES LUCKETT.
  - b. WILLIAM LUCKETT.
  - c. MARY LUCKETT, who married a Mr. Stewart. They had a daughter, MARY VIRGINIA STEWART.
5. DOROTHY ANN, 1819-1883. She married (1st) Mortimer Smith and (2nd) John Henry Turner, M.D. There were issue from both marriages and family names include:

STODDERT	GARNER
GANTT	SLINGLUFF
POGUE	





6. JAMES, M.D., 1822-1892, graduate of Princeton, 1845, received his M.D. from University of Maryland in 1847. He married (1st) in 1852 Sara Clare Mackubin, died 1864, daughter of George and Eleanor (Maccubin) Mackubin of Annapolis [see top page 139]. He married (2nd) in 1868 Nannie Nelson, only child of William Douglas and Letty E. (Chandler) Nelson of Westmoreland County, Virginia. [Note that the latter was the recipient of letter written by Zarvona in prison which is reproduced in the final section of this book.]

issue by first marriage

a. GEORGE MACKUBIN, born 1854, Principal of Charlotte Hall Academy since 1892. He married Minnie Fauntleroy Bond of Port Deposit, Maryland. They had a daughter

VIRGINIA DOUGLAS.

b. MAY TUBMAN, 1858-1861.

c. JAMES, born 1860.

d. CLARENCE WOOD, born 1862. He married Susan V. Cooper. Issue: JAMES, born 1893.

MARTHA GARRETSON, born 1894.

issue by second marriage

a. WILLIAM DOUGLAS NELSON, 1870-1924. In 1906 he married Elizabeth Steuart Calvert, born 1882, daughter of Charles Baltimore and Eleanor (Mackubin) Calvert; she now resides in Baltimore. There were six children:

ELIZABETH STEUART, born 1907. In 1928 she married Walter Rhodes Byrd, born 1898, son of Johannes Littleton Byrd.

They have two children:

ELIZABETH STEUART THOMAS BYRD, born 1929. In 1952 she married Braxton Dallam Mitchell, born 1929. Issue:

CHARLES WELLMAN MITCHELL, born 1954.

BRAXTON DALLAM MITCHELL, born 1956.

WALTER BYRD MITCHELL, born 1957.

THOMAS NELSON MITCHELL, born 1959.

ELEANOR MACKUBIN CALVERT BYRD, born 1931. In 1952 she married Maynard Teall, born 1924. Issue:

ELEANOR MACKUBIN TEALL, born 1952.

MAYNARD TEALL, JR., born 1955, died in infancy.

JOHANNES LITTLETON BYRD TEALL, born 1957.

NANCY BYRD TEALL, born 1959.

NANNIE NELSON, born 1909, died in infancy.

WILLIAM DOUGLAS NELSON, JR., born 1910. In 1942 he married Anna Catherine Flad, born 1916. They have one son:

RODERICK McCULLOUGH THOMAS, JR., born 1944.

THOMAS ROWLAND, JR., born 1913. In 1950 he married Kirke Cary Neltnor. They have one son:

THOMAS ROWLAND, III, born 1954.

AMELIA BOWIE, born 1914. In 1940 she married John Brome Morsell, born 1904. They have three girls:

AMELIA BOWIE MORSELL, born 1942.

SALLY BOWEN MORSELL, born 1946.

JAUQUELINE BROME MORSELL, born 1951

CALVERT, born 1916. In 1943 he married Margaret Somervell Berry, born 1921. They have three children:

CALVERT BOWIE, born 1946.

CAROLYN BROOKE, born 1949.

DOUGLAS, JR., born 1952.

b. MARY SMITH, 1871-1933. In 1923 she married Charles Segars.





- c. THOMAS ROWLAND, 1874-1923, prominent Baltimore banker, president of the Maryland Bankers' Association, president of the National Bank of Baltimore, and chairman of the board of the Century Trust Company. He was a graduate of Charlotte Hall Academy. He served as Captain in the 5th Maryland Regiment in the Spanish-American War. In 1902 he married his cousin Mary Ella Lewis Thomas, daughter of James Richard and Jeanette Eleanor (Briscoe) Thomas, and granddaughter of Gov. James Thomas. [See also page 136, 8. page 138, and 6. page 140.]
- d. BEVERLY PEYTON, born 1875, died in infancy.
- e. RODERICK McCULLOUGH, 1877-1961. In 1923 he married Hattie Virginia Kelly, daughter of Dr. J. Eley Kelly and Hattie Birdsong Rives; she now resides in Coral Gables, Florida.
- f. DOUGLAS, 1880-1933, president of the Century Trust Company in Baltimore. In 1905 he married Catherine Bowie Clagett, daughter of Thomas Jefferson Clagett and Catherine Waring Bowie, daughter of Maj. Thomas Fielder Bowie of "The Valley", Prince George's County. Issue:  
  - CATHERINE BOWIE CLAGETT, 1919-1920.
  - DOUGLAS, Jr., born 1924, killed in air crash 1944.
- g. ANITA, born 1882, now residing in Baltimore.

7. A daughter, born 1824, died same day.

8. MATILDA, 1825-1844, unmarried.

#### "CREMONA" BRANCH

WILLIAM THOMAS, M.D., 1793-1849, was the third son of Major William and Catherine (Boarman) Thomas. He studied under Dr. Physick in Philadelphia and received his M.D. in 1814 from the Philadelphia Medical College. He married (first) in 1818 Elizabeth Tubman, daughter of Major Henry and Mary (Sothoron) Tubman of St. Mary's, and granddaughter of Henry Greenfield and Mary (Bond) Sothoron of Charles County. He married (second) in 1828 Elizabeth Lansdale, 1801-1882, daughter of Dr. William Lansdale of "Enfield Chase", Prince George's County and Mary Reeder, she the daughter of Dr. Harry Reeder of St. Mary's and Elizabeth Cunningham of Charles County. There were four children by the first marriage and seven children by the second.

#### issue by first marriage

- 1. PERCIVAL, who died in infancy.
- 2. JANE ADELIA, 1819-1881. She married Dr. Henry Ford of Leonardtown. They had six children:
  - a. ELIZABETH LANSDALE FORD, died unmarried in 1907.
  - b. ROSA HILL FORD.
  - c. LEWIS FORD, died unmarried in 1893.
  - d. WILLIAM HENRY FORD, died unmarried in 1893.
  - e. ANN MARY FORD, died 1898. She married William Greenwell.
  - f. MARIA LOUISA FORD. She married Walter Hanson Stone Briscoe of "Sotterly", St. Mary's County. They had a son:  
 JOHN HENRY THOMAS BRISCOE.





3. ANN, 1822-1863. In 1840 she married Col. James T. Blakistone, lawyer, of Leonardtown. They had nine children:
  - a. WILLIAM THOMAS BLAKISTONE. In 1861 he resigned from West Point Military Academy and enlisted in Capt. Wm. H. Murray's company, Confederate States Army. He served in every campaign to Gettysburg, at which battle he received his death wound in 1863. He was Orderly Sergeant of his company, his commission as Captain reaching his family after his death.
  - b. ELIZABETH BLAKISTONE, died 1913.
  - c. TEACKLE WALLIS BLAKISTONE, lawyer, died 1909.
  - d. WALTER BLAKISTONE, died 1890. He married Sarah Sinclair, daughter of Capt. Arthur Sinclair, C.S.N., and his wife Lelia. They had four children:
    - ANN THOMAS BLAKISTONE.
    - WALTER BLAKISTONE, died 1902.
    - LELIA SINCLAIR BLAKISTONE. She married William Bayless.
    - JANE T. BLAKISTONE. She married Joseph R. Foard. Issue:
      - ADDISON K. FOARD, who married Mary Hobson.
      - WALLIS BLAKISTONE FOARD, 1884-1895.
      - ELIZABETH BLAKISTONE FOARD, who married H. Howard Ellison.
  - e. NANNIE THOMAS BLAKISTONE, died 1898. She married William M. Conway of Baltimore. They had a daughter:
    - ELLA BLAKISTONE CONWAY.
  - f. ELLA R. BLAKISTONE, who died 1880, unmarried.
  - g. GEORGE BLAKISTONE, lawyer and banker. He was president of the Union Trust Company of Baltimore. In 1892 he married Maud Price, daughter of T. Buchanan Price. They had two sons:
    - GEORGE BLAKISTONE, born 1894.
    - T. BUCHANAN BLAKISTONE, born 1895.
  - h. JAMES T. BLAKISTONE, who died in 1912.
  - i. ANDREW BLAKISTONE.
4. JOHN HENRY, 1824-1898, of "Trent Hall", Baltimore attorney. In 1851 he married Mary Thomas Lieper, died 1893, daughter of George Gray and Elizabeth (Thomas) Lieper of Delaware County, Pennsylvania. Issue:
  - a. GEORGE LIEPER, 1852-1912, unmarried.
  - b. WILLIAM, 1854-1857.
  - c. ELIZA SNOWDEN.

issue by second marriage

1. WILLIAM LANSDALE, 1829-1900, unmarried.
2. MARIA, 1831-1910, unmarried.
3. AURELIA, 1833-18xx.
4. SUSAN, 1835-1908. In 1856 she married the Rev. Walter A. Mitchell, son of the Rev. C. H. B. and Lucinda (Compton) Mitchell. Issue:
  - a. ELIZABETH LANSDALE MITCHELL, who married the Rt. Rev. Joseph Blount Cheshire, Bishop of North Carolina.
  - b. LUCINDA COMPTON MITCHELL, 1859-1861.
  - c. MARY THOMAS MITCHELL.
  - d. EDWIN MITCHELL, 1864-1902, unmarried.
5. KATE, 1835-1934 (the last to leave "Cremona").
6. SOPHIA, 1837-192x, who married the Rev. William Christian of Virginia.
7. EDWIN, died in 1888 unmarried. He was an officer in the Confederate Army.





## "MATTAPANY" BRANCH

MAJ. RICHARD THOMAS, whose portrait appears as a frontispiece to this book, was born June 1797, and he died 30 October 1849. For many years he was Member of the Maryland Assembly from St. Mary's County. He was Speaker of the House of Delegates from 1830 to 1831 after which he was elected to the Senate, and was President of that body from 1836 to 1843. He was President of the Maryland Colonization Society. He married JANE WALLACE ARMSTRONG, born 1789, died 20 March 1871, the daughter of James and Jane (Cocks) Armstrong.

According to notes in my father's handwriting, we have the following information regarding the ARMSTRONG family:

SEPTUM VAN WYCK was born in Bucks County, Pennsylvania, and moved to New York after the Revolution. He had a daughter, LYDIA VAN WYCK, who married ROBERT OGDEN. They had a daughter, CATHERINE OGDEN, born 1732, died 14 July 1832, buried at Faith Church, Baltimore, who married ROBERT COCKS. They had a daughter, JANE COCKS, born 1764, died 6 December 1816, who married JAMES ARMSTRONG, born 1755, died 1823, both of whom are buried at Faith Church. They had at least three children:  
JANE WALLACE ARMSTRONG (1789-1871) who married RICHARD THOMAS, EDWARD ARMSTRONG, and CATHERINE ARMSTRONG, born 1785, died 10 February 1860, and who married WILLIAM HAYS. Among their children was CATHERINE HAYS, who married ST. GEORGE TEAKLE [who is probably the same Dr. Teakle whose interview I give on page 121].

Major Richard Thomas and Jane Armstrong Thomas had four sons, as given on page 135. I heard of Andrew only recently. He is not mentioned in Mackenzie, and his name does not appear in Father's notes. Mr. Fenwick mentions him in his article on "Mattapany", given later in this book, and his source of information was the Deed of Trust, dated 24 January 1840, which is given following Mr. Fenwick's article. The latter reference also gives the names of a number of Armstrongs, although their relationship to one another is not always clear. The second son, Richard, was rarely, if ever, referred to as Richard, Jr.; his friends, in his early life, called him Dick; in later life he usually was known by his legalized name of Zarvona. The third son, to my knowledge, was always called George but, in later life, was referred to as Captain George. The fourth son, James William, was frequently called Jimmy.

Major Thomas was loved and respected. His death was sudden, when in the prime of his life. A Baltimore newspaper, dated Friday afternoon, November 2, 1849, gives the following account:

"DEATH OF A DISTINGUISHED MARYLANDER.--We deeply regret to learn that the Hon. RICHARD THOMAS, of St. Mary's county, died of apoplexy at his residence on Tuesday last. He had mounted his horse and had gone to the shore of the river for the purpose of superintending in person the loading of his vessel. He had scarcely reached it when he was attacked by a rushing of blood to his head, and carried to his overseer's house near





by, and there expired. Few men possessed a larger share of the affections of his fellow-citizens, or more justly deserved them. He filled many responsible public stations; had represented St. Mary's (the county of his birth) in both branches of the State Legislature, and presided over the Senate for six years. His death is a public loss, and a private calamity, which the public councils will feel, and his family and friends never cease to mourn."

Another obituary of Richard Thomas is given below:

ST. MARY'S BEACON.  
LEONARDTOWN, MD.  
THURSDAY MORNING, NOV. 1, 1849.

DEATH OF RICHARD THOMAS

We deeply regret to announce the death of the Hon. RICHARD THOMAS, of this county, who died at his residence on Tuesday last. Mr. T., we understand, seemed to be in excellent health in the morning, and started to ride over his farm; he had left the house, however, but a short time when he was found by one of his servants lying in the road, speechless, having apparently been taken suddenly ill and fallen from his horse. He was immediately conveyed to his house, but survived only a few hours.

Mr. Thomas was a courteous, high-toned and talented gentleman, and by his social virtues and his public usefulness had become endeared to the people of St. Mary's and won for himself an enviable distinction throughout the State. He had repeatedly served in the Legislature, and for several years was President of the State Senate--a station which he filled with distinguished ability. For some time previous to his death, Mr. T. was looked to as one among those most likely to succeed to the vacancy in the United States Senate occasioned by the resignation of the Hon. Reverdy Johnson. He is gone, however;--and having died at a period when his experience and matured judgment had qualified him for greater usefulness, his death may be truly regarded as a public loss.

The remains of Mr. Thomas will be interred today, at "Deep Falls", the residence of the widow of the late Ex-Governor James Thomas.

\* \* \*

The portrait of Richard Thomas, the frontispiece of this book, was done by Charles Balthazar Julien Fevret de Saint-Mémin (1770-1852). It was St.-Mémin's method to take a life-size portrait in profile with black crayon on pinkish paper, using the physionotrace, a machine invented by a Frenchman named Chrétien and perfected by St.-Mémin. This enabled him to reproduce faithfully not only the profile, but the dressing of the hair, the neckwear, and the clothing. The original life-size drawing, together with additional engraved prints, were sold to the sitter for thirty-three dollars, a tidy sum in that day. Portraits of practically all distinguished Americans of the first part of the nineteenth century were done by St.-Mémin, he often being invited as house guest while the work progressed. Since the artist left finally this country in 1814 for his native Dijon (France), Richard could not have been older than 17 years when the portrait was done. It was found in the attic at Mattapany and doomed to the trash heap when it was rescued, badly crushed and damaged by silver fish. The original is in possession of George (Tazewell) Thomas. Cousin Margaret (Mrs. John H.) kindly had copies made for inclusion in this book.





At the time of Richard's death, his youngest son Jimmy was at home, George was attending Charlotte Hall Military Academy, and Dick, age 16, we may assume was at Oxford, a private military academy in Talbot County (he was to enter West Point the following July). Six weeks after his father's death, George, then 14 years of age, wrote to my little grandfather the letter reproduced below. The handwriting is mature, the letters well-formed, and there are flourishes here and there. The letter previews the man yet to be. He signs his name with "Jr.", perhaps that he not be confused with his uncle of the same name.

Charlotte Hall  
Dec 9th, 1849

Dear Brother,

I have for several mails past returned from the postoffice much disappointed as I have not received a letter from home by mail since I have been back at Charlotte Hall, still I will try not to let you find the same falt in me. The boys are at present very joyful in anticipation of the joys which await them at home: for my part I shall be very glad when that holy day comes round which gave birth to him, Our Holy Savior, who came into this world to save sinners. Ought we not then when that joyous festival returns, to return thanks to Almighty God for haveing sent this only son to dye a death upon the cross the most dreadful of all deaths to save sinners from eternal damnation and bring them to repentance? Should it not be a joyful [day] amongst Christians: Alas! it would be a joyful day with us were it not for the absence of one I need not mention whom for you my Dear Brother know to whom I allude but if we put our trust in God he will alleviate our sorrows and will allow us to meet in heaven the dearest friend we ever had. My Dear Brother you are now nearly ten years old and should study very hard if evil boys should tempt you think what your father would wish were he alive; if you do so you can resist every temptation which is offered you though it may glitter as gold; you should be a good boy my Dear Brother for in no other way can you again behold Our Dear Father. I am in good health and hope you all enjoy the same blessing. Ask Mother to send for me next Wednesday. Give my love to all.

Your aff Brother

George Thomas Jr.

PS Philly says "please ask his father to let him come home with me as he is very homesick": he sends his love to all.

Yours

Geo Thomas Jr.

The double-page sheet was folded and addressed on the outer fold:

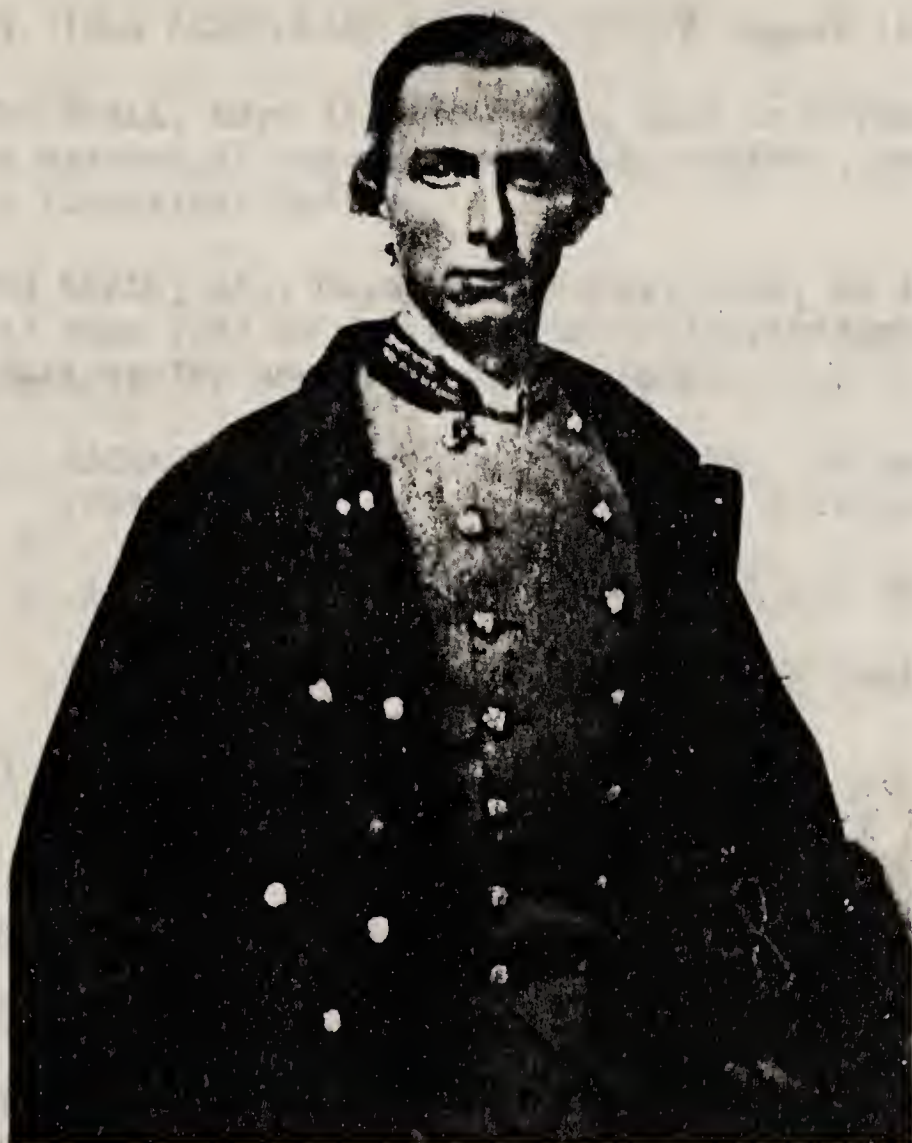
To Master James W<sup>m</sup> Thomas  
Care of Mrs Richard Thomas  
Great Mills  
St. Marys Co., Md.

The Mattapany branch of the Thomas family may be considered to date from 1840, the year that Richard and Jane Armstrong acquired Mattapany. Since their first two sons had no issue, this branch consists of Captain George and James William and their issue, given on the immediate following pages.





# DESCENDANTS OF CAPTAIN GEORGE THOMAS . . .



CAPTAIN GEORGE THOMAS  
1835-1903



THE HOUSE OF COMMONS



GENERAL SIR JOHN COCKBURN  
1793-1861

CAPT. GEORGE THOMAS was born 6 August 1835 and died 14 May 1903. He was Captain of Company A, 2nd Maryland Regiment, C.S.A. He married 23 October 1866 ELLEN OGLE BEALL, born 21 October 1841, died 30 October 1909. She was the daughter of the Rev. Upton and Louisa (Ogle) Beall. [See Beall and Ogle families, volumes II and III of "Colonial Families".] There were nine children:

1. RICHARD BROOKE, born 27 January 1868. He died in 1875. (see also 9. below.)
2. JOHN HENRY, born 3 August 1869, died 17 May 1931, of Boston and New York. On 19 January 1916 he married Margaret Hale of Boston. She is the daughter of Josiah L. and Annie S. (Pierce) Hale and now resides in New Haven, Connecticut. They had one daughter,
  - a. ANNE PIERCE, born 21 June 1917. On 14 November 1944 she married George W. Conklin, now of Woodbridge, Connecticut.
    - (1) MARGARET ANNE (Holly), born 14 August 1945.
    - (2) IOLA SCHMIDLAPP (Mimi), born 6 August 1948.
3. REV. UPTON BEALL, born 31 March 1871, died in November 1937, of Troy, Ohio. He married 22 January 1907 Emily Hoffman, daughter of Charles and Emily (Johnston) Hoffman.
  - a. UPTON BEALL, JR., born 16 September 1908, of Summit, New Jersey. On 12 June 1937 he married Joan Elizabeth Annan Rosé, daughter of Jack Manley and Grace Norton Rosé.
    - (1) RICHARD NORTON, born 6 July 1938. He married 28 November 1959 Elaine Virginia Elmer, born 4 November 1941.
      - (a) CHRISTOPHER NORTON, born 4 July 1960.
      - (b) LISA ARMSTRONG, born 12 April 1962.
    - (2) JANE ARMSTRONG, born 9 April 1940.
  - b. ELLEN OGLE, born 21 January 1911, now of Elkhart, Indiana.
  - c. DOROTHEA, born 22 June 1916, now of Frostburg, Maryland.
  - d. EDITH, born 13 October 1919. She married in July 1937 James Kessler.
    - (1) JUDITH GILMOR KESSLER, born 16 February 1938.
    - (2) WILLIAM R. KESSLER, born 6 July 1939.
    - (3) JANE THOMAS KESSLER, born 12 November 1944.
    - (4) JAMES BRINKMAN KESSLER, born 30 March 1951.





4. TAZEWELL TAYLOR, of the Baltimore Bar, born 9 September 1872, died in July 1942. On 23 September 1903 he married Maria Antonia Vall-Spinosa, daughter of the Rev. Z. Vall-Spinosa of Barcelona, Spain and Carolina Armstrong Toro of Madrid, Spain.
  - a. GEORGE (TAZEWELL), born 16 September 1905, now of Perkasio, Pennsylvania. On 25 May 1946 he married Helen Muir Edwards. He adopted middle name to lessen the confusion between himself and his first cousin, George Calvert, when at Episcopal High.
    - (1) HILDA EDWARDS, born 27 September 1948.
    - (2) HELEN (NELL) RUSSEL, born 28 March 1951.
  - b. HILDA VALL-SPINOSA, born 2 January 1909, now of Garrison, Maryland. On 8 June 1935 she married Thomas Davis Mumford, of New York. He died 25 November 1955.
    - (1) PHILIP GURDON MUMFORD, born 10 May 1937.
    - (2) MARIA HILDA MUMFORD, born 15 January 1941.
    - (3) KATHARINE THOMAS MUMFORD, born 3 February 1942.
    - (4) THOMAS TAZEWELL MUMFORD, born 7 May 1947.
5. EDWARD OGDEN, born 24 March 1874, died 7 October 1941, of New York, Winchester, and Charlottesville. He married (first) Millicent Powell of New York, with no issue. On 17 September 1917 he married Attilie Marie Rottammer, daughter of John Valentine Rottammer.
  - a. EDWARD O., born 30 June 1918, now residing in Culver City, California. He married Teresa Guzman.
    - (1) EILEEN CLARA, born 30 September 1952.
    - (2) VICKY LYNN, born 20 December 1953.
  - b. DR. GORDON CLARK GREGORY, born 15 November 1919, now of Darien, Connecticut. He married 12 June 1948 Barbara (Bobbie) MacDonald, born 26 September 1926, daughter of Robert Ralsey and Elizabeth (Taft) MacDonald.
    - (1) DEBORAH, born 22 March 1951.
    - (2) PAMELA, born 16 February 1953.
  - c. TAZEWELL TAYLOR, born 7 February 1921, of Culver City.
6. LOUISA OGLE (Aunt Lou), born 20 December 1875, died 30 August 1952 in Baltimore.
7. RT. REV. WILLIAM MATTHEWS MERRICK, born 3 May 1878, of Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil, Bishop of Southern Brazil. He died 18 September 1951 in Washington, D.C. On 25 October 1904 he married Sara (Sarita) Elizabeth Cruikshank, born 7 June 1879, daughter of Thomas Chandler and Lucy Hooe (Walke) Cruikshank.





- a. GEORGE CALVERT, born 3 October 1905 and died 20 July 1925.
  - b. JAMES WALTER, born 31 January 1908. He married 15 April 1942 Eleanora Robertson Post, born 2 April 1913, daughter of William Stone and Lilian (Hood) Post. They reside in the Post family home at Bernardsville, New Jersey.
    - (1) WILLIAM POST, born 22 February 1944.
    - (2) GEORGE CALVERT, born 5 December 1949.
  - c. LLEWELLYN CRUIKSHANK, lawyer, born 5 November 1913, of Chevy Chase, Maryland. He married 12 August 1939 Hilah Frances Bryan, born 27 November 1909, daughter of Dr. William Minor Bryan and Henrietta Kemp White.
    - (1) HILAH FRANCES, born 3 February 1941.
    - (2) ELIZABETH WALKE, born 23 February 1944.
    - (3) ELLEN BEALL, born 10 August 1945.
    - (4) WILLIAM MATTHEWS MERRICK, born 26 October 1947.
8. KATHARINE, born 5 September 1879, christened KATE. She married 15 September 1910 Dr. Henry Nicholas Browse of New Martinsville, West Virginia, where she now resides. Dr. Browse died 24 October 1954. Letter from "Cousin Kitty" is quoted on pages 119-120.
- a. ELLEN BEALL, born 11 July 1911. She married 19 October 1946 Robert Lyman Williston of Northampton, Massachusetts. They now reside in New Orleans.
    - (1) JOHN PAYSON WILLISTON, born 13 October 1947.
    - (2) ROBERT BROWSE WILLISTON, born 6 June 1953.
  - b. ROBERT HENRY (Breezo), born 10 January 1913. He married 13 June 1953 Cintra Jones, born 13 April 1924, daughter of John Latta and Gertrude (Ross) Jones. Their home is in Holicong, Pennsylvania.
    - (1) NICHOLAS BROWSE, born 13 May 1954.
    - (2) ROBERT LATTA BROWSE, born 26 February 1956.
    - (3) TIMOTHY THOMAS BROWSE, born 13 April 1959.
  - c. LEONARD CALVERT, born 27 April 1915, of New Martinsville, West Virginia.
9. RICHARD BROOKE, born 29 August 1882, died 31 October 1955. He married 5 November 1924 Margaret Louise Sherman, daughter of William Phileo and Emma (Smith) Sherman. Cousin Margaret lives in Red Wing, Minnesota.





DESCENDANTS OF JAMES WILLIAM THOMAS . . .



JAMES WILLIAM THOMAS  
1840-1901



DAVID M. LAMSON, JR.



DAVID M. LAMSON, JR.

(1871-1901)

JAMES WILLIAM THOMAS was born 2 April 1840 and died 21 December 1901. He was First Sergeant Company A, 2nd Maryland Regiment, C.S.A.--only 21 years of age at the outbreak of the War when he began his DIARY contained herein. On 17 January 1871 he married FANTELINA SHAW, born 9 October 1842 and died 15 December 1924 in Baltimore, at the home of her son, Armstrong. She was the daughter of Dr. Joseph Ford and Rebecca (Thomas) Shaw of St. Mary's County. There were five children.

1. CARROLL, born 13 October 1871 and died in 1936. On 1 September 1896 he married Margaret Ellen Thomas, born 3 December 1874 and died 29 August 1960. She was the daughter of Barclay and Eliza (Morton) Thomas of Prince George's County. They had one son,

a. JAMES WILLIAM, born 8 February 1903, now of Silver Spring, Maryland. On 2 June 1927 Jim married Helen May Casteel (Soapy), born 24 February 1908.

(1) HELEN MAY (Bubbles), born 20 March 1928. On 15 September 1947 she married John C. Donohoe, Jr.

(a) JOHN C. DONOHOE, III (Johnny), born 12 August 1948.

(b) SHARYN ANNE DONOHOE (Shary), born 4 December 1949.

(c) MICHAEL WILLIAM DONOHOE (Mike), born 21 March 1953.

(2) JAMES WILLIAM, JR. (Bill). On 21 July 1951 he married Patricia O'Rourke.

(a) WILLIAM PATRICK (Billy), born 5 November 1956.

(b) ROBERT JAMES (Bobby), born 5 August 1959.

2. ARMSTRONG, born 21 March 1874 and died 9 December 1930, Baltimore attorney and author of two legal works. He collected much of the source data reproduced in this book. On 26 November 1902 he married Rebecca Trueheart Ellerson, born 2 February 1877 at "Ingleside", in Ellerson, Hanover County, Virginia, and died 16 March 1959. She was the daughter of Andrew Roy and Rebecca Lewis (Storrs) Ellerson.

a. REE STORRS, born 18 April 1905, died in infancy.

b. REBECCA LEWIS (Ree), born 19 April 1907. On 26 November 1928 she married Charles Wallace of Fredericksburg, Virginia, born 12 June 1898. They live at Amberley, near Annapolis, Maryland.

(1) CHARLES WALLACE, JR., born 19 November 1929. He married 27 October 1956 Arla Strassburg, born 21 June 1933.

(a) THOMAS LAUREN WALLACE, born 1 August 1957.

(b) MARY KELLY WALLACE, born 5 September 1960.





(2) ARMSTRONG THOMAS WALLACE, born 4 June 1932. He married 12 October 1957 Janet Evelyn Meseke, born 13 October 1933.

(a) ANN ELLERSON WALLACE, born 18 November 1958.

(b) NANCY BROOKE WALLACE, born 22 February 1963.

c. ARMSTRONG, born 8 April 1909, now of Washington, D.C., compiling the pages of this book.

3. RICHARD ZARVONA, born 8 November 1876, died 12 May 1879. "Little Zarvona", the Colonel's only namesake, is mentioned in the closing words of this book.

4. FANTELINA, born 30 October 1879, died 17 July 1888. Her mother always referred to her as "Little Lena". See also pages 119-120.

5. ALLISON FORD, born 27 March 1881, died 21 December 1943, of Frostburg, Maryland. On 1 April 1916 he married Nell Aminta Kalbaugh.

a. NELL ALLISON, born 19 May 1917. On 26 November 1937 she married Gordon Lee MacAskie, now of Syracuse, New York.

(1) BARBARA ANN MacASKIE, born 9 May 1942.

(2) MARGARET LEE MacASKIE, born 23 September 1944.

(3) ANNE ELIZABETH MacASKIE, born 2 March 1947.

(4) DONALD GORDON MacASKIE, born 2 July 1952.

b. AMY CARROLL, born 16 November 1928. On 19 August 1947 she married Beverly Woodruff Pierce, now of Buffalo, New York.

(1) ROBERTA LYNN PIERCE, born 7 July 1950.

(2) PATRICIA ANNE PIERCE, born 8 February 1952.

(3) ELLIOT CHARLES PIERCE, born 16 June 1956.

(4) GLENN THOMAS PIERCE, born 27 November 1957.

(5) MICHAEL DAVID PIERCE, born 8 July 1959.





REBECCA TRUEHEART ELLERSON  
1877-1959

was the wife of Armstrong Thomas, whom she married in 1902. She was one of eleven children born to Andrew Roy and Rebecca Lewis (Storrs) Ellerson and she survived all of them. She left many notes on the various branches of her family, but much of it would be difficult to reproduce as only rarely are dates given. In papers for membership in such organizations as the Society of the Lees of Virginia, the D.A.R., and the Colonial Dames, she showed lineal descent from Richard Lee, Hancock Lee, John Armistead, Mordecai Cooke, William Kendall, and Richard Cocke, all of which names appear in the genealogy given below; but all data have not been thoroughly checked and should not be considered altogether reliable. Details may be found in various Virginia genealogical records. The pedigree of the Lee family of Virginia dates back to England to the twelfth century or earlier (see "Lee Family of Virginia" and also "Magazine of the Society of the Lees of Virginia"). The present record is given below in three parts: (I) the ancestry of her father, (II) the ancestry of her mother, and (III) the issue of her father and mother.

(I) Ancestors of ANDREW ROY ELLERSON (1844-1919):

1. RICHARD LEE, 1563-162x, married in 1599 Elizabeth Bendy. It is possible that he visited Virginia. Their son,
2. COL. RICHARD LEE, 1600-1664, was born in England and resided in the Colony of Virginia 1635-1653. He was Burgess York County 1647-1651. At a later date he returned to Virginia and there he died. His wife was Anna, her surname not now established. Their son,
3. HANCOCK LEE, 1653-1709, was Burgess Northumberland County 1688. He married Mary Kendall, daughter of WILLIAM KENDALL, member House of Burgesses from Northhampton 1657-1666, having been Speaker the final year. Their daughter,
4. ANNE LEE, born before 1682, married William Armistead, died probably in 1711, son of JOHN ARMISTEAD, born 1611, died after 1688 in Gloucester County, member of Colonial Council in 1688. (See "William and Mary Quarterly", vol. VI, 97-99, and "Armistead Family" by Garver, 77-97.) Their daughter,
5. JOYCE ARMISTEAD married Mordecai Booth, son of Thomas Booth and Mary (or Lucy?) Cocke, the daughter of John Cocke, who was the son of MORDECAI COOKE, born in England 1611, resided in Virginia, member House of Burgesses. (See "William and Mary Quarterly", vol. II, 233-34.) Their son,
6. GEORGE BOOTH married his step-sister Mary Wythe Mason. Their daughter,
7. MARY BOOTH married James Henry Roy, born 1775. Their daughter,
8. LAURA ROY, 1817-1877, of "Green Plains", married John Hanckel Ellerson, 1801-1880. Dr. Ellerson studied medicine at the University of Pennsylvania and finished at Paris. His father, who had married a Miss Hanckel from Philadelphia, was lost at sea on a return voyage to his native Norway. [I have a handsome portrait of Dr. Ellerson, as a young man, painted in Paris; Julidta Ellerson Crangle, of Butte, Montana has companion portraits





of Dr. Ellerson and his wife, Laura Roy in old age.] Their son,

9. ANDREW ROY ELLERSON, 1844-1919, was born at Buch Hill, Chesterfield County, Va. and, prior to his marriage to Rebecca Lewis Storrs, he lived at Laurel Springs, Hanover County, near Ellerson's Mill. After his marriage he lived at "Ingleside" and, later in life, moved to Richmond.

(II) Ancestors of REBECCA LEWIS STORRS (1849-1917):

1. RICHARD COCKE, 1600-1665, was born in England; he resided in the Colony of Virginia before 1632, and died in Henrico County. He was member House of Burgesses 1632, 1644, 1654. He married Mary Ashton. (See "Virginia Historical Magazine", vol. III, 405-410.) Their son,

2. RICHARD COCKE, 1639-1706, was Surveyor of the County and a member of the Court from 1678 to 1699. Name of wife not known. Their daughter,

3. MARTHA COCKE married Joseph Pleasants who died in 1725, son of John Pleasants, 1644-1698, who came to Virginia in 1665 from Norwich, England. Their son,

4. JOHN PLEASANTS, died 1776, married in 1731 Susanna Woodson, daughter of Tarleton and Ursula (Fleming) Woodson. Tarleton was the great-grandson of John Woodson who emigrated to Virginia in 1625. The Woodsons, Pleasants, and Flemings were Quakers and held no political office. Their daughter,

5. SUSANNA PLEASANTS married Joshua Storrs, born in England near Leeds in Yorkshire, emigrated to Virginia, settled five miles north of Richmond, calling his home Hunslet Hall after his former home in England. He was the son of William Storrs, born 1704, son of Joshua Storrs of Chesterfield, England, born 1670. Their son,

6. GERVAS STORRS, 1771-1848, married Martha Trueheart, 1774-1860, daughter of Mary Garland and Daniel Trueheart, the latter who came to Virginia and settled seven miles east of Richmond on the Chickahominy River in Hanover County, and who called his place "Meadow Bridge". [Rebecca Thomas Wallace of Annapolis, Md. has child's chair belonging to Martha Trueheart and also her portrait, she being seated with her pets.] Their son,

7. ALGERNON SIDNEY STORRS, 1812-1877, of Hunslet Hall, Henrico County, married his first cousin Rebecca Lewis Trueheart, 1810-1893, of "Liberty Hall", Henrico County. Their daughter,

8. REBECCA LEWIS STORRS, who married Andrew Roy Ellerson, was born at Hunslet Hall. It is believed that she came into possession of "Ingleside", at Ellerson, Hanover County through her aunt, Martha Trueheart (Tatty), who died unmarried. We have photos taken at Ingleside, showing the large Ellerson family and numerous servants and their children. Mother stated that after they left Ingleside, the home was separated into two parts. When we visited the place in about 1950, there was nothing there that she could remember. There were eleven children, as given on following page.





(III) Issue of REBECCA LEWIS STORRS and ANDREW ROY ELLERSON:

1. MARY ROY, 1871-1872.
2. MARTHA (PATSY), 1873-1908, who married Claybrook James. Issue:
  - a. ELLERSON JAMES, 1900-1938, who married Camille Baudot.
3. SIDNEY HANCKEL, 1874-1940.
4. SUSIE CARTER, 1875-1876.
5. REBECCA TRUEHEART, 1877-1959. She was called "Reby"; her mother and daughter, also named Rebecca, were called "Ree". In 1902 she married Armstrong Thomas; for issue, see pages 151-152.
6. ANDREW ROY, 1877-1878.
7. EMMA BROWN, 1878-1879.
8. ROBERTA WILLIAMSON (BOB), 1879-1936. Although she was our aunt, Ree and myself called her "Sister".
9. JOHN HANCKEL (JOCK), born 1883, died about 1925. In 1906 he married Julidta Madeline Lavell, daughter of Geoffrey and Helen T. Lavell.
  - a. ANDREW ROY, born 1909, died in elevator accident when about three years old.
  - b. GEOFFREY DIXON, born 1 November 1911. On 28 December 1936 he married Mary Frances Thomas, born 17 July 1913, daughter of Robert E. and Mary Frances Conlon Thomas. Issue:
    - (1) MARALETA, born 1938. In 1959 she married John R. Malloy of Boston; they now reside near Washington, D.C. Issue:
      - (a) MAUREEN CECILE, born 6 September 1961.
      - (b) JOHN RICHARD, JR., born 25 September 1962.
    - (2) JOHN CURTIS, born 1940.
    - (3) GEOFFREY DIXON, JR., born 1941.
    - (4) ANNE JEAN, born 1942.
    - (5) JAMES THOMAS, born 1947.
    - (6) RICHARD EMMET, born 1954.
    - (7) MICHAEL DAVID, born 1956.
  - c. JULIDTA LAVELL, born 1907. In 1933 she married Robert Emerson Crangle of Butte, Montana, son of Henry Convery and Margaret Lynch Crangle. They have a daughter,
    - (1) JULIDTA LAVELL, born 31 August 1942.
10. WILLIAM ROY (WILL), 1884-1931. He married (first) Eleanor (Nell) Carmichael, born 1884, of Asheville, and (second) Jean Douglas Garrett, of North Carolina. Issue of first marriage:
  - a. ELIZABETH CARMICHAEL (BETSY), born 4 September 1914.
11. DOUGLAS GOLDSBOROUGH, 1888-1940. In 1928 he married Helen Fitzgerald Watson, born 1900, daughter of Mary Albert Pierce and Edward Fitzgerald Watson. Helen, after her husband's death, married Lewis C. Grant, 1882-1951. She now is known as Helen Ellerson Grant.





Grandfather Ellerson was only sixteen years of age at the outbreak of the war. The only evidence I have of his participation, besides a photo of him as a youngster in uniform, is the letter given below. The letter is Appendix B in Thomas Nelson Page's "Robert E. Lee the Southerner" under the heading: Extract from Letter to Author from Andrew R. Ellerson, Esq., of Ellerson's, Hanover County, Va.

Richmond, Virginia, June 10, 1908.

. . . Before the battles around Richmond began, my regiment (4th Virginia Cavalry) was encamped on the extreme left of the army in the neighborhood of Goodall's. The day before the battle of Mechanicsville, my company (Company G) was detached from the regiment and camped that night at Emanuel Church, a few miles north of Richmond. The next morning Jack Stark and myself were ordered to report to General Longstreet, for what purpose we had no idea, but congratulated ourselves upon the fact that we should at least make a good breakfast. . . . The evening of the battle of Cold Harbor, General Longstreet got each division of his corps and placed them in position. This was just before the battle commenced. I stood in the front until the bullets were flying thick and fast, and feeling very uncomfortable, and having no business there, I thought I would retire to a hill in the rear where I could have the pleasure of looking on at a battle without being in any apparent danger. Upon this hill I found General Jackson, seated entirely alone upon his horse. We had been there some time when a shell burst some few feet to his left, and in a few minutes a second shell burst. Even before this time I had become again very uncomfortable, and would have liked very much to change my position, but I did not like to show the white feather in the presence of General Jackson, who had not winced, but after the second shell had burst near him, he remarked in a quiet way, "When two shells burst near you it is well to change your position if you can do so", so we both rode some distance to our right and got out of range of the bullets.

That night General Lee and General Longstreet made their head-quarters in Hogan's dwelling. I was sitting on the steps of this building about ten o'clock, when General Jackson rode up with Lincoln Sydnor, who was his guide on this occasion. General Jackson gave his horse to Sydnor to hold and went into the house, as I afterward learned, for a consultation with all of the higher officials of the army. Sydnor told me that the reason General Jackson reached Cold Harbor as late as he did was due to the fact that, although he was very near his old home, and where he was perfectly familiar with the country, the Yankees had cut down so many trees and made so many new roads that he actually got lost, and that just before reaching the point to which General Jackson had directed him to guide him, he found that he was on the wrong road, and had to turn round the artillery in the woods and had to counter-march for quite a distance, which delayed them very materially. Sydnor told me that General Ewell, who was present, wanted to hang him to a tree, but General Jackson said it was all right; that we would get there in plenty of time. You know General Jackson has been frequently blamed for being late on this occasion, and it has often occurred to me that this simple reason may have been the cause of it, although I never heard it so stated. . . .

With best wishes and kind remembrances, I am . . .

Yours,

A. R. Ellerson





WALLACE---BRAXTON

MICHAEL WALLACE (1719-1767)  
emigrated from Galrigs, Scotland,  
physician, settled at "Ellerslie"  
in Virginia, married Elizabeth  
Brown who was born in 1723.

CARTER BRAXTON (1736-1797)  
signer Declaration of Independence,  
member House of Burgesses, married  
Elizabeth Corbin.

JOHN WALLACE (1761-1829)  
of "Liberty Hall", married 1792  
Elizabeth Hooe.

CARTER BRAXTON, JR.  
married Sara Moore.

JOHN HOOE WALLACE (1793-1828)  
physician, mayor of Fredericks-  
burg, Va. 1836-38, president of  
Farmers Bank of Fredericksburg,  
married Mary Nicholas Gordon.

THOMAS CORBIN BRAXTON  
married Maria Davis.

CHARLES WALLACE  
president National Bank of  
Fredericksburg, married  
Josephine Stansbury.

JOHN STAIGE BRAXTON (1827-1879)  
Captain in the Confederate Army,  
married Olivia Jane Wright (1832-  
1897).

JOHN STANSBURY WALLACE (1868-  
1909), president National Bank  
of Fredericksburg, married  
Rebecca May Braxton.

REBECCA MAY BRAXTON (1870-1924)  
married John Stansbury Wallace.

Issue

CHARLES WALLACE, born 12 June 1898. He married 26 November 1928  
Rebecca Lewis Thomas, born 19 April 1907, of Baltimore. They have two  
sons:

CHARLES WALLACE, JR., born 19 November 1929. [see page 151-2]  
ARMSTRONG THOMAS WALLACE, born 4 June 1932.

LILY BRAXTON WALLACE, born 2 March 1901. She married 3 November 1934  
George Frederick Mitchell, born 13 December 1881, son of John Magill  
Mitchell (1854-1923) and Henrietta Julia von Kolnitz (1854-1923) of  
Charleston, S. C. They have one son:

GEORGE BRAXTON MITCHELL, born 26 August 1937.



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Above: "MATTAPANY", as the present generation knew it. Below: "DEEP FALLS".  
Photos, circa 1920, from "The Chesapeake Bay Country" by Swepson Earle  
reproduced by permission.







THE HOUSE OF THE LATE MR. JAMES H. HARRIS, OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK, AS IT APPEARED IN 1850. THE HOUSE WAS BUILT BY HIS FATHER, MR. JAMES H. HARRIS, AND WAS ONE OF THE MOST ELEGANT RESIDENCES OF THE CITY AT THAT TIME.



THE HOUSE OF THE LATE MR. JAMES H. HARRIS, OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK, AS IT APPEARED IN 1850. THE HOUSE WAS BUILT BY HIS FATHER, MR. JAMES H. HARRIS, AND WAS ONE OF THE MOST ELEGANT RESIDENCES OF THE CITY AT THAT TIME.

# MATTAPANY AND OTHER THOMAS MANSIONS

"Mattapany" is situated on the south shore of the Patuxent River in St. Mary's County, Maryland, about five miles from the mouth of the river. At this point the river is about three miles wide. On the opposite shore is Solomon's Island where the Tazewell Thomases had their home "Green Point" in Calvert County. Mattapany Mansion was on level ground terminating at a fifty-foot bluff at the river, about three hundred feet from the mansion. To the right of the approach to the river was a "valley", which simplified access to the waterfront. Poison ivy and chiggers in the valley could be avoided by jumping directly off the bluff, and this









was great fun, but the procedure was discouraged as it aided the natural erosion processes. The mansion was midway between two creeks and two steamship wharfs one mile apart. (I use a mixture of past and present tense as today there are many changes--even geographical changes, as will be seen on later pages.) The creeks may be seen on the map reproduced on page 175 from the survey made in 1873 by Geo. B. Dent, where they were named Millstone Lake and St. Patrick's Lake; the wharfs were Millstone Landing and Susquehanna Wharf.

Below Mattapany was "Susquehanna", here illustrated. It was built in 1654 and was the home of Christopher Rousby, the King's Collector General, who was fatally stabbed in an altercation with Colonel George



LIBRARY OF CONGRESS PHOTO

"Susquehanna"

Talbot. It was here that the Council had its meeting in 1661 to determine upon the expedition against the Dutch on the Delaware. The *Washington Star* of 13 March 1960 gives the following description: "It was a long, low house of frame, measuring roughly 60 by 16 feet, with a large external chimney at one end, and another, much larger, bisecting the roofridge 40 feet away. Four dormer windows, not equally spaced, broke the front roofline above the 60-foot porch. There was another porch of equal length across the rear. The ceiling height of each was a modest 6 feet, but 120 feet of porch was hardly usual. Here and there, weatherboarding of random width showed 18 inches. Susquehanna had no superb interior woodwork, often found in these old places. In the main, it was rough and crude; perhaps its greatest claim to fame was its antiquity." As I remember it, Susquehanna was about 200 feet from the shoreline, was lived in, but both house and grounds were in a shabby condition. It was dismantled piece by piece in 1942, reassembled, and now may be seen at the Henry Ford Museum in Dearborn, Michigan.

Above Mattapany, at Millstone Landing, was a country store at which, I understand, was once the post office of Mattapany; the only purchases I can remember making at the store were fishing hooks, lines, sinkers, and peppermint sticks, but the old storekeeper had "everything". Above Millstone was a frame dwelling called "Fishing Point" and beyond was St. Richard's Manor, dating from about 1639, the home of Dr. Alexander L. Hodgdon, who inherited the place from his mother, Sara Dana Hodgdon.





Some ten miles up the river from Mattapany is "Sotterley" (Satterly, Sotterle), at one time owned by the Briscoe family. Until 1730 it was known as "Bowles' Separation", having been separated from Resurrection Manor (or Fenwick's Manor), an early grant from Lord Baltimore. It came into possession of the Plater family through the marriage of the Hon. George Plater to the widow of the Hon. James Bowles. The estate takes its name from the English ancestral home of the Plater and Satterlee families. According to James Walter Thomas, the above George Plater was a Attorney-General of Maryland as early as 1691 and from 1692-1720 was Collector of Customs for the Patuxent, and that his only son, also George, was Governor of Maryland in 1791. Four generations of Platers lived at Sotterley until 1822 and thence it came into possession of the family of Dr. Walter Hanson Stone Briscoe (see bottom page 141). In 1910 the estate was purchased by the Hon. Herbert L. Satterlee, former Assistant Secretary of the Navy, who married the daughter of J. Pierpont Morgan. Today the place is finely maintained and is open to the public. Descriptive literature given the visitor reads: "Sotterley, with its tall chimneys, steep roofs, and inviting porticos, commands a superb view of the Patuxent from the ridge on which it stands. A long, low, white structure, pleasingly informal, it gives no hint of the notable woodwork within, particularly the Chinese Chippendale staircase and the great shell alcoves of the drawing room. The oldest part of the house dates from 1730 or earlier. Around the house clusters a veritable village of tenant houses, stables, tobacco barns, and all the apparatus of active farming. Sheep and flocks of great bronze turkeys preclude any "museum" atmosphere. At Sotterley the true spirit of an old Maryland plantation still lives on".



Ten miles further up the Patuxent is "De La Brooke", which was settled in in 1650 by Robert Brooke, Esquire, who arrived from England in that year with his wife, ten children, and 28 other persons at his own cost. He was 47 years of age at the time and, in his own words, "He was the first that did seat the Patuxent, about twenty miles up the river, at 'De La Brooke'". He was President of the Council and, as such, Governor

of the Province. James Walter Thomas states: "The settlement was erected into a county, called Charles, and Mr. Brooke made its commander. 'De La Brooke', containing two thousand acres, which formed the chief seat of the Brooke colony, was erected into a manor, with the right of Court Baron and Court Leet, and his oldest son, Baker Brooke, made Lord of the Manor. The house of De La Brooke stood about a mile from the river on the brow of the hill, and about fifty yards north of the road leading from the present De La Brooke

house [shown above] to the 'Three-Notched' road. It was a commanding situation--the broad plains below, the river with its curves, creeks, coves, and islands, giving it a land and water view most imposing and picturesque. It was a brick building, about thirty by forty feet, one and one-half stories high, with steep roof and dormer windows. The rooms on the lower floor were handsomely wainscoted, and the parlor was also embellished with massive wooden cornice and frieze, on which were carved in relief roses and other floral designs. The house was destroyed about seventy years ago.







A mass of moss-covered bricks and an excavation still mark the spot where, for nearly 200 years, stood the first manor house on the Patuxent. De La Brooke is otherwise noted as the place at which the Council, with Governor Charles Calvert, met on July 19th, 1662." De La Brooke came into the Thomas family upon the marriage of Maj. William Thomas, Jr. to Catherine Brooke Boarman sometime prior to 1785, for in that year James Thomas, later Governor of Maryland, was born there. The present house was built in 1830 of bricks made on the property. It is now owned by Leander McCormick-Goodhart, who acquired the property in 1927 from Clarence Thomas.

"Cremona" adjoins De La Brooke and is directly on the waterfront. It is more modern than the other Thomas homes, but the most beautiful and graceful of them. It was acquired by Dr. William Thomas (1793-1849). His daughters, Miss Kate and Sophia (widow of the Rev. Mr. Christian), lived there until the latter's death in the 1920's, after which Miss Kate moved to Washington. At Commander McCormick-Goodhart's tercentennial celebration party at De La Brooke in 1934 Miss Kate, though in her 99th



year, was driven down from Washington and sat on the lawn throughout the proceedings. Maj. Gen. Howard C. Davidson purchased Cremona, restoring the old home and adding a wing to the mansion. The new wing so closely resembles the original, that it is difficult to distinguish which is the older of the two. On a visit to Cremona last summer, General Davidson gave me the woodcut shown above.

In the uppermost part of St. Mary's County is "Trent Hall", originally called "Trent Neck", an estate granted in 1658 to Maj. Thomas Truman, a member of the Privy Council. The estate was devised to John Henry Thomas (1824-1898) of Cremona by his maternal cousin, John Truman Hawkins and possession afterwards passed to the former's daughter, Eliza Snowden Thomas. Adjacent to Trent Hall is "Woodbury", a division of Indian Creek Farm; this old home was purchased by my grandfather, James William Thomas in his later years, and now is owned by his grandson of the same name. In the same section of the County, farther to the west, is Charlotte Hall





Academy where, it has been noted, a number of Thomas boys attended school and where others have served in an administrative capacity. The school first opened its doors to students in 1797 and has been in continuous operation since that time.

In the far western part of the County, on the Wicomico, is "Brambly", the home of William Henry Thomas (1815-1866) from De La Brooke and of his son, John Truman Hawkins Thomas, until the latter's death in 1940. The present home was built in 1898.

Nearby, about two miles from Chaptico, is "Deep Falls", the only one of the Thomas homes originally built by a Thomas and which still is owned by the Thomas family. In the original Proprietary Grant of 1680 it was called "Wales", but soon after it was known by the name which we call it today. The present mansion was built in about 1745 by Maj. William Thomas (1714-1795) whose history is given on page 134. Ownership then passed to his son, William, Jr.; thence to his son James, the Governor; and thence to the Governor's son, James Walter Thomas, Cumberland lawyer and historian author, who used it as a summer place and who spent great effort in restoring the place. The latter's nephews--Henry B., Edward M., and James Walter--next fell heir, and the present owners are Henry B.'s four sons. The mansion has not been occupied for some years, but it has not been allowed to fall into decay and today it is still in a fine state of preservation. The slave quarters and general utility buildings are still standing. Among those buried in the family graveyard are Major William Thomas, Sr., Maj.-Gen. James Thomas (the Governor), Richard Thomas, Sr., and the latter's son, Colonel Zarvona. The monument over the Governor's grave was "erected as a tribute of affection by his children" and bears the quote:

Green be the turf above thee,  
Friend of my better days;  
None knew thee but to love thee,  
None named thee, but to praise.

The following description is taken from John Martin Hammond's "Colonial Mansions of Maryland and Delaware", but I have made several minor changes: The approach to Deep Falls from the highway is through a beautiful wooded avenue. The house itself is situated on an eminence which commands a fine view. In appearance it is like an English country dwelling-house, its most distinguished feature being the group of great chimneys which tower above its roof-line. It is sixty feet long and forty feet deep and has wide piazzas, front and back, running its whole length, supported by pillars. It is a large, double two-story frame building with brick foundation. While the whole effect of the old mansion is that of massive simplicity, yet it is so well proportioned in all of its parts that it is not without grace. In the rear of the house are five terraces, each one hundred feet long and ten feet deep, which lead to the plateau below, where is an old-time garden of Queen Anne design filled with beautiful old flowering shrubs and bushes. On either side of the house are broad lawns made picturesque by gentle undulations and rich and varied foliage. The interior of the house does not contain a great deal of ornamentation, and bears out the character of the simplicity which marks the outside, but it is distinguished by the staircase which leads off from the main hall at the rear, its point of departure being signalized by a beautiful arch. The sides of the stair are panelled and carved; the newel posts are of maple with rosewood tops surmounted with an ivory knob. . . . And what is the destiny of Deep Falls Mansion? There are at present no family plans. The old order changeth; our present-day needs and way of life are different. The answer lies in the future.









## Mattapanu

Mattapanu is historic by reason of having been the residence of Charles, Lord Baltimore, and the place from which many of the Proprietary orders and proclamations were issued, and where one session of the General Assembly and several meetings of the Council were held. On it was originally located the Indian village of the Matapiente. Shortly after the landing of the Maryland Colonists, King Pantheon presented this plantation to the Jesuits, who established a storehouse and missionary station there. As a result of the conflict between Baltimore and the Jesuits in 1641, all lands held in Maryland by the Jesuits or by other persons for its use, were formally released to Baltimore.

In 1663, a special warrant was issued for Mattapanu containing 1,000 acres, with addition of 200 acres, by the Proprietary to Hon. Henry Sewall, Secretary of the Province. Upon his death in 1665, this patent was granted to his widow, Jane, who in 1666 married Governor Charles Calvert, afterwards Lord Baltimore (the third). Governor Calvert erected at Mattapanu a large brick mansion, which was for many years his private residence. A fort and magazine and "Brick Hill Point" on the estate was the place of general rendezvous for the militia by order of the Council. Here in 1682 a guard was installed to protect the governor and the magazine. When the Maryland Deputies were driven from St. Mary's City during the Protestant Rebellion, they took refuge in the garrison at Mattapanu, and it was there that the formal articles of surrender were executed in 1689.

Mattapanu, or Mattapanu Sewall, as it was called, came back into the possession of the Sewalls in 1722 by a grant from Charles, the fifth Lord Baltimore, to Nicholas Sewall, son of the original proprietor.

The last notice of the old Calvert house was 1773, when it was reported to be in a state of dilapidation and decay. It has long since disappeared. The building was about 60 x 30 feet, with a large wing, and stood about 250 yards southward of the present house. The garrison stood about 100 yards nearer the river.

(From "Chronicles of Early Maryland," by  
James Walter Thomas)

No records have been located giving the exact date that the present Mattapanu was built. Best available records indicate that the older part was constructed about 1722 and the two parlors added about 1850, as was the storm porch. From 1840 until 1932, the Thomas family lived here. Mr. Weschler then acquired Mattapanu and had started restoration in 1942, when the Navy purchased it for the U. S. Government as part of the site for the Naval Air Test Center. Upon commissioning of the station on 1 April 1943, the Secretary of the Navy designated Mattapanu as the official quarters of the Commander, Naval Air Test Center.





The history of "Mattapany" is given briefly on the previous page. This is a reproduction of a sheet given to present-day visitors to Mattapany. I am pleased that the sheet is headed "Mattapany" with the spelling that the family used, also that it is not "Mattapany-Sewall", and that its history is quoted from a Thomas. The ornamentation is a rough reproduction of the entrance doorway to Mattapany. It should be mentioned, however, that the mansion is not always open to visitors--it is now the private residence of a senior naval officer. Occasionally one may visit the place on a scheduled garden tour; otherwise one may visit only upon personal invitation. Last summer I had the pleasure of a weekend with the Llew and Hilah Thomases at a cottage at "Sotterly"; I wished that I could revisit Mattapany nearby--except for a special flight over the area, I had not seen the old place since the mid 1920's. But how would one gain entrée? Hilah thought she could arrange for the visit, but women do not understand naval procedure; instead of contacting the admiral's aide or the OOD, she phoned the admiral's wife direct, explained who "we were", that we would like to visit the mansion and, it being a hot day, it would be more comfortable to arrive in informal attire. Appointment was made for the next afternoon, we arrived at the military installation as scheduled and announced to the Marine guard at the gate who "we were", and were given military escort to the mansion. Admiral Ramsey and his wife received us most graciously. Details of the visit will be given later in this section.

An excellent article on Mattapany has been produced by Mr. Charles E. Fenwick of Leonardtown, the product of his own research. Despite its length of nine typed pages, it appears most desirable to insert it herein. It was published in "Chronicles of St. Mary's", the monthly bulletin of the St. Mary's County Historical Society, vol.4, no.8, August 1956, and copy was sent me by the author. I have shortened the narrative somewhat, deleting particulars of the Sewalls not altogether significant to the purpose of this book, and deleting also particulars of the Thomases where such information has been given elsewhere in this book and where these omissions do not disturb the continuity of Mr. Fenwick's remarks. I have inserted in brackets references which Mr. Fenwick placed as numbered notes at the end of his article; inserted in brackets also are occasional remarks of my own.

#### MATTAPANY-SEWALL MANOR by CHARLES E. FENWICK

Mattapany-Sewall, one of the very interesting manors of Maryland, was owned and occupied by three of Maryland's most distinguished colonial families, the Sewalls, Calverts, and Thomases. At present, a beautiful colonial brick mansion still stands overlooking the deep blue Patuxent River. The old mansion house, the land history of the manor, and the interesting people who lived thereon make the present generation proud of their heritage. Their story instills in us a desire to foster and encourage the ideals and example of those who started this wonderful country and nurtured it along the way. The present mansion house of Mattapany is the home of the Admiral in charge of the huge U. S. Naval Test Center. The entire manor and many other historical tracts of land are included in the acreage of the Patuxent River Naval Air Station.

When Leonard Calvert, George Calvert [Leonard's younger brother], and the band of adventurers arrived at Saint Mary's City in 1634, Mattapany and the surrounding area was called Patuxent, but the particular area was







called Mattapanient. Father Andrew White came with the adventurers to give them spiritual guidance, but the prime ambition of Father White and his co-workers was to bring Christianity to the savages. He labored in the vicinity of the Patuxent and became so endeared to the Indians that Maquacomen, the King of the Patuxents, gave him a vast estate called Mattapanient. By 1639 the Jesuits had cleared the land, built homes, and Father John Brock, Superior of the Maryland Missions, was living at Mattapanient. In their annual letters, the Jesuits said that this plantation was their support, for on it was raised large quantities of food for consumption and sale. Henry Bishop was in charge of the Fort, which had been built to protect the Patuxent River approach.

When Cecil Calvert, the Proprietor, learned that the Indian King had given this land to the Jesuits, he stated that all patents had to come from him and that no one could receive a valid deed from the Indians. This led to a long controversy between the Lord Proprietor and the Jesuits. In the end, the Jesuits gave up Mattapanient and retired to other lands which they had received under the Conditions of Plantations from Cecil, Lord Baltimore.

In 1661 Henry Sewall, formerly of London, arrived in the Province of Maryland. That same year he was made Chancellor, Secretary, and Judge of Probate for the Province. [Archives of Md., III, 439.] Earlier in that same year Cecil Calvert, by a special warrant, required his Governor to grant to Henry Sewall 2000 acres of land, the land to be located wherever in the Province that Sewall wanted; it was to be erected into a manor, to be called by whatever name Sewall wished. Henry Sewall surrendered this warrant to Governor Charles Calvert on 20 May 1663 [Patent, Liber 4, folio 615, Land Office, Annapolis]. For the surrender of this warrant, Sewall was granted Eltonhead Manor on the north side of the Patuxent in Calvert County, which had been originally laid out in 1652 for Edward Eltonhead and granted to him in 1658.

On 25 May 1663 Charles Calvert, Lieutenant General, in the name of his father, Cecilus, Lord Baltimore, granted to Henry Sewall, for 1500 pounds of tobacco, 1000 acres of land. This land was on the south side of the Patuxent River and was erected into a manor by the name of Mattapany-Sewall "with Court Baron and all royalties and privileges most usually belonging to manors in England (Royal Mines Excepted) to be holden of the Honour of West Saint Maries" [Pat., Liber 5, folio 271, L.O. Annapolis].

Henry Sewall went to England in the summer of 1664 and died soon after his return to Maryland. His widow, Jane Lowe Sewall, carried his body back to England for burial. She then returned to Maryland on the same boat with Governor Charles Calvert; on this long voyage they are said to have fallen in love. The widow Sewall became Lady Jane Baltimore [in about the year 1666].

Henry Sewall's will was made on 25 April 1664 [the year in which he died]. As he stated in the will that he was of Patuxent River, it is assumed that he had started and probably completed his manor house on the Manor of Mattapany-Sewall. Three days after the probate of the will, his widow, Jane, delivered up the patent to Mattapany-Sewall. This 1000 acres and 200 acres that Henry Sewall had by assignment from Benjamin Rozier were joined and the one tract was regranted to Jane, and erected into a manor to be called Mattapany-Sewall [Patent, Liber 7, folio 551, Annapolis].







Mattapany-Sewall was a favorite home of Charles Calvert and Lady Jane. However they deeded the estate, including the Manor House and other appurtenances, to Henry and John Darnall of Charles County for the proper use of the Lord Baltimore, Cecil Calvert. In consideration of this deed, Charles granted to Lady Jane, for her life, and then to her son and heir, Nicholas Sewall, "Charles' Gift", a tract of 2000 acres formerly called "Little Eltonhead Manor". [Patent, Liber P.L. #f, folio 6-10, L.O., Annapolis. In more recent times this land became known as Leh Manor and the larger portion was commonly called Cedar Point Farm.]

When Charles Calvert, Third Lord Baltimore, went to England in 1684, he appointed his young son, Benedict Leonard Calvert, Governor, and his step-son, Nicholas Sewall and others as Deputy Governors. Lady Jane died in Middlesex, England in 1700, and Charles died in 1715. [Previously, at the age of 75 years, Charles had married his fourth wife, Margaret Charleton, to whom he gave 10,000 acres of land in upper Baltimore County, to be forever known as My Lady's Manor. Lady Margaret died in 1731, having willed her gift across the seas back to the Calverts--to Charlotte Calvert, granddaughter of her husband, and daughter of Benedict Leonard.]

On 2 October 1722 Charles, the fifth Lord Baltimore and the fourth Proprietor of Maryland, granted Mattapany-Sewall (1200 acres) to Nicholas Sewall. In this grant, Charles states that Jane Sewall, mother of Nicholas and relict of Henry Sewall, had married his grandfather of noble memory and that although the Manor was rightfully his own property, he wished to regrant it to Nicholas Sewall, who was now seated at Charles' Gift, which tract had been given in exchange for Mattapany-Sewall.

At this time Major Nicholas Sewall was firmly established at Charles' Gift so, when he died, the home plantation would naturally go to his eldest son, Charles Sewall, and the recently acquired Mattapany-Sewall to his second son, Henry Sewall. Henry died in 1722, the same year that Mattapany came again into the possession of the Sewall family. [Md. Cal. of Wills, V, 91.] In his will Henry Sewall asked his father, Major Nicholas Sewall, to please give to his children the land that would rightfully be his. Henry names his children, Henry and Nicholas. Before he died, the Major transferred Mattapany to his grandson, Nicholas Lewis Sewall (of Henry), but stated that if Nicholas Lewis died without heirs, the land should revert to the third son of the Major, Nicholas Sewall, Jr. and his heirs. This transfer was evidently recorded in the St. Mary's County Court and destroyed when the Court House in Leonardtown burned in 1831. [Nicholas Sewall, Jr. died in 1732. A copy of his will, dated 1727, is reproduced on the following page. On the next following page is reproduced qualification of Charles Sewall, his brother, as executor. These two reproductions are from Hilda Thomas Mumford's collection of Mattapany papers referred to on page 119.]

Nicholas Lewis Sewall lived a long and colorful life at Mattapany. He was a successful planter and raised a large family. He was a member of the important Committee of Observation during the Revolutionary War, and was a member of the Maryland Convention for ratification of the U.S. Constitution in 1788.

The Sewall family went to church at St. Mary's City until 1704 and, after that, to St. Inigoes, unless they were fortunate enough to have a priest say Mass at Mattapany. In 1795 Nicholas Lewis Sewall donated six and one-half acres, part of the manor lands, for a church and cemetery. A small frame church was built and named St. Nicholas, after the patron



The following is a list of the names of the persons who have been appointed to the various positions in the various departments of the Government of the State of New York, for the year 1911. The names are given in alphabetical order, and the positions are given in the order in which they are appointed. The names are given in the order in which they are appointed, and the positions are given in the order in which they are appointed.

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In the Name of God Amen: I Nicholas Sewall the Younger of St. Marys County in the Province of Maryland being sick & weak of body, but (God be thanked) of perfect & disposing Mind Memory & Understanding do make & ordain this my last Will & Testament in manner & form following. that is to say.

First I Give & Recommend my Soul into the hands of God who gave it, And my body to be buried at the Discretion of my Executor hereafter named:

And as for my worldly Estate, after all my just debts are paid I Give & Bequeath all my Goods & Chattells to my well beloved & nephew Nicholas Lewis Sewall, if he shall attain to the full age of Twenty one years To be Delivered to him at that Age & not before, Which Age if he shall not arrive to that then my Goods & Chattells aforesaid be equally divided amongst my Brothers & Sisters who are living at the Time of my said Decease.

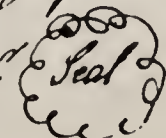
And forasmuch as in case of y<sup>e</sup> Death of my said nephew without Issue the Reversion of the Tract of Land, & its Appurtenances whereon I now live called Mathias Sewall will by Law Descend to me, in such case I Give & devise the same Land & Appurtenances to Charles Sewall the Second Son of my Brother Charles Sewall, & to the Heirs of my said nephew Charles Sewall for ever.

But if the said Charles my nephew should dye without Issue, or before he shall attain to the Age of Twenty one years that then the same Land & Appurtenances descend to & become the right of my nephew Nicholas Frisby the Second Son of Peregrine Frisby Gentleman & the Heirs of my said nephew Nicholas Frisby for ever.

And Whereas I Elizabeth who was the Widow & Relict of my Brother Henry Sewall Deceased were appointed Executors of my said Brother Henry's last Will & Testament Since whose Decease the said Elizabeth has intermarried with Philip Lee Esq<sup>r</sup> who together with the said Eliz<sup>th</sup> after their Marriage aforesaid by their Deed bearing date the Eighth day of December in the year of our Lord God One Thousand Seven Hundred Twenty five Quitted Claim Granted Assigned & made over to me & my Assigns all their Right title & Interest of the Executorship of my said Brother Henry's Will & of the Administration upon his Estate with all the improvements & advantages thereto belonging It is my Will hereby to Assign make over & grant to my said Brother Charles all my power right title & Interest & Claim of in & to the Executorship & Execution of my said Brother Henry's Will & the Administration of his Estate aforesaid both by virtue of my said Brothers Will & by virtue of the said Deed of Philip & Elizabeth aforesaid.

And it is my Will that my said Brother Charles do here in his care & custody as well the Goods & Chattells belonging to my said Brother Henry's Estate as what improvements & woods I have made thereof & what other Goods & Chattells I have of my own to be by my said Brother Charles kept for my said nephew Nicholas Lewis Sewall to be Delivered to him at y<sup>e</sup> Age of Twenty one years if he shall arrive to the same as aforesaid.

Lastly, I Appoint my said Brother Charles Sewall to be Executor of this my last Will & Testament Sealed with my Seal & dated the Twenty eighth day of October Anno Domini Seventeen Hundred Twenty seven.

Nicholas Sewall jun<sup>r</sup>. 





Maryland.

CHARLES, Absolute Lord and Proprietary of the Provinces of Maryland and Avalon, Lord Baron of Baltimore, &c. To all Persons to whom these Presents shall come Greeting, in our Lord God Everlasting. Know ye, That upon the 17th of April - 1732 before Wm. Deane Charles Carroll Judge for Probate of Wills, and granting Administrations, and the last Will and Testament of Wm. Deane late of St. Mary's County Deceased, was before our said Judge at our office in common Form proved, approved and exhibited, a Copy of which is to these Presents annexed, and Administration of all and singular the Goods, Chattles and Credits of the said Deceased, which in any manner of way concern him, or his said Testament, was granted and committed unto Mr. Charles Carroll of Baltimore having first taken Swear - Oath, well and truly to Administer the said Goods, Chattles and Credits, according to the Tenor and Effect of the said Testament, and according to Law; and to make or cause to be made, a True and Perfect Inventory of all and singular the Goods, Chattles and Credits, which were of the Deceased at the Time of his Death, and which have, may or shall come to his Hand, Possession or Knowledge, appraised in Money; and also a just and true Account of and upon his Administration, therein, touching which Inventory he is presently assigned to perform, or at furthest at or before the 1st of August - Day of August - now next ensuing; and an Account within Twelve Months from the Date of these Presents. GIVEN at Baltimore under Seal of our Office for Probate of Wills this 17th Day of May - in the Eighth Year of our Dominion, &c. Anno Domini 1732.

*Witness my hand and seal this 17th day of May 1732*

*Wm. Deane Charles Carroll*  
*of Baltimore County*





saint of the several Sewalls of that name. On this tract was also built a neat residence of frame with brick ends, a stable, and kitchen. This church served the neighborhood until early in the present century, when it was demolished and replaced by the present structure, which now serves as the Chapel for Patuxent Naval Air Station. The Union soldiers occupied the church residence during the Civil War. While in their use, the kitchen caught fire and was destroyed, as well as the house and stable. [Woodstock Letters, XLIII, 199--privately printed and circulated.]

Nicholas Lewis Sewall had enlarged his land holdings by acquiring, by patent in 1744 Sewalls Discovery, 108 acres, and Fishing Point, by patent in 1746, 13 acres, both tracts being contiguous to the manor lands. He sold 287 acres of the original manor lands to John Smith of Calvert County in 1749. His land holdings at the time of his death were part Mattapany-Sewall and part Sewalls Discovery, 817 acres, and Fishing Point. He died in 1800 and left the manor to his son, Henry Sewall.

Henry Sewall was laid to rest in the family burial plot just one year after his father. He left the manor to his brother, the Rev. Charles Sewall of St. Thomas Manor in Charles County. Although the latter had received the manor in fee simple, he had all of the legal heirs of his father join with him and deeded the manor and adjoining tracts to Robert Sewall of Prince George's County. From Robert Sewall the manor descended to his son, William H. B. Sewall, who lived in the manor house until his death in 1832. He devised the manor to his brother, Robert Darnall Sewall of Prince George's County.

[No grave stones mark the Sewall graves. The Sewalls were buried behind the first St. Nicholas Church in an enclosed lot. See plat of this cemetery, made by the U.S. Navy, on file at St. Mary's County Historical Society, and also "Maryland Historic Graves", page 33.]

It is doubtful that Robert Darnall Sewall ever lived at Mattapany-Sewall. In 1840 he sold the manor to George Forbes. So, after almost 200 years, the manor passed from the Sewall family. The deed states that Forbes was already in possession of the manor [St. Mary's Co. Abstract Deeds (1831-1840), Land Office]. George Forbes had married into the prominent Plater family, but his wife, Mary L. Plater, did not live long and in 1833 he married Mary E. Harris. Forbes immediately sold the manor to Richard Thomas, a son of Major William Thomas, Jr. of De La Brooke Manor. George and Mary Forbes then moved to Prince George's County. They had at least one son, H. Marshall Forbes, who fought in almost all of the major battles of the War Between the States on the side of his beloved South; he died in 1865.

[Richard Thomas thus acquired Mattapany in 1840 and it was to remain in the Thomas family for nearly a century. Mr. Fenwick continues to call the place "Mattapany-Sewall"; however the "Sewall" part was dropped after it became a Thomas place--in the family it was always simply "Mattapany".]

When Richard Thomas purchased Mattapany, he used a trust fund for the purchase. This fund had been left to his wife, Jane Armstrong, in 1833, and was invested in property in Baltimore County. The trust was sold and reinvested in Mattapany in the name of George Thomas, brother of Richard, for the use of Jane Armstrong Thomas and her children, who were at that time Richard, George, and Andrew. Andrew Thomas died in his minority, evidently, but another son, James W. Thomas, was born. [This was my first introduction to Andrew, and I was astonished at the information. After







questioning Mr. Fenwick on this, he kindly sent me copy of the Deed of Trust which was his reference for the data which he gives in this paragraph. I reproduce this following the end of Mr. Fenwick's article. It may be noted that Grandfather was born ten weeks after the date of this Deed.]

[Mr. Fenwick next gives personal histories of some of the Thomases who lived at Mattapany; inclusion here would be redundant and this information is therefore omitted. He quotes from Mackenzie's "Colonial Families" and thanks Mrs. J. Spence Howard, Sr. for further particulars of the Thomases.]

In 1873 Richard Thomas Zarvona sued his brothers, George and James Thomas, for a division of the manor lands. A Commission was appointed by the St. Mary's County Court, Judge Robert Ford presiding. The Commissioners gave Lot #1, 177 acres, on which was located the manor house, to George Thomas; Lot #2, containing 389 acres, to R. Thomas Zarvona; Lot #3, containing 459 acres, to James W. Thomas. [Court Record, Liber J.F.F. #2, folio 352 etc., Clerk's Office, Leonardtown, Md.]

[I have not investigated particulars of this "suit" but undoubtedly Mr. Fenwick's reference would throw light on it. But it has been noted (on page 119) that the manor house and surrounding lands were left to Zarvona by his mother, Jane Armstrong Thomas. Zarvona makes reference to the re-division of the lands in a statement written in the year 1873, but it is not established whether the statement was written before or after the suit in question. Zarvona writes:

*George Thomas having stated that he could not "make his bread" on a third of the estate of Mattapany . . . , I agreed in 1870 to sell him my interest therein. I had been informed that I had the right to take the house and the land adjoining. It was to my interest to profit by this right; on the contrary I yielded to him. . . . It was now, even more than two years previous, against my interest to sell my land to him. I nevertheless agreed to his terms.*

Grandfather's interests evidently were not involved in the proceedings; he is mentioned by Zarvona, but only casually so, in such terms as "in the presence of Mr. J. Wm. Thomas", etc.]

George and Ellen Thomas, who lived in the old manor house, soon increased their holdings from the 177 acres to 660 acres [St. Mary's County Assessment Records for 1876. These records, and others, are now stored in the basement of the St. Mary's County Jail in Leonardtown.] Captain George Thomas died at Mattapany in 1903. His eldest son, John Henry Thomas, eventually bought out the other heirs and became the sole owner. The latter died in 1931 and his widow sold Mattapany to George and Theresa Weschler.

The Weschlers, of Washington, D.C., spent most of their time at Mattapany but did not live in the old manor house as it was in bad repair. They were restoring the house to its original grandeur when the U.S. Government announced that it desired this entire area for construction of a naval base. In 1942 Mattapany, and 112 other tracts, containing in the aggregate, 5,955.11 acres, were acquired by the United States of America





by process of condemnation [Land Record, Liber C.B.G. #13, folio 320 etc., Leonardtown]. Then the construction of the Patuxent Naval Air Station was started.

#### THE PRESENT MANOR HOUSE [continuation of Mr. Fenwick's article]

To verify the history of early colonial homes is always difficult and conclusions drawn are often controversial. Included here are the records I have found and the impressions these records have made upon me.

There are ample records to prove that a large manor house stood on Mattapany-Sewall. It was most probably built by Henry Sewall, the immigrant. It was the home of Charles, Lord Baltimore, and for a time it was the "Government House of the Province". James Walter Thomas says, "The last notice of the old Calvert house was in 1773, when it was reported to be in a state of dilapidation and decay. It has long since disappeared, though its foundation and cemented cellar may still be seen. The building was about 60 x 30 feet, with a capacious wing, and stood about 250 yards southward of the present commodious dwelling house of Mattapany." [Chronicles of Colonial Maryland (1900), page 292.] Then I find in the U.S. Assessment Records of 1798 the following:

Nicholas Lewis Sewall--A brick Dwelling house two stories high 32 by 38 feet in bad repair 6 Windows 5-1/2 by 2-1/2 ft, 8 do. 3-3/4 by 2-1/2 ft, Kitchen in good repair 27 by 18 ft, Cornhouse 32 by 14 feet with a 10 ft shed each side, of wood, situated on the Patuxent--Harvey Hundred.

[These records are at the Maryland Historical Society in Baltimore and are on film at St. Mary's Co. Historical Society in Leonardtown.]

The plat done by George Bennie Dent in 1873 showed both the new mansion and the ruins of the old. [Further description of this plat and reproduction of a portion of this plat will be given on a later page.] Upon inquiry, the present generation of the Thomas family stated that the mansion was built by the Sewalls before it was purchased by Richard Thomas. They tell of additions and improvements, but are positive that the original house was built by the Sewalls. Then, by chance, I found another record. In 1835 Father Fidele de Grivel, S.J. was sent to St. Inigoes to be assistant to Father Joseph Carberry. Unfortunately Father Sewall died just before his friend, Father Grivel, arrived in the county where Father Sewall was born. On March 10, 1835 Father Grivel writes from St. Inigoes Manor, Maryland, to Father Joseph Tristram of Worchester, England. After thanking him for sending the sad news of the demise of his good friend, Father Nicholas Sewall, he tells of a visit to Mattapany:

*A fortnight ago I accompanied Father Carberry to Mattapany-Sewall, sixteen miles north of St. Inigoes. We have there a congregation of six hundred communicants, with a chapel better than the old one at Stonyhurst. It is called St. Nicholas' Church. The Sewalls are great benefactors to it. Mattapany, an Indian name, is situated on a hill on the south side of the Patuxent River, about two miles above its mouth in the Bay of Chesapeake. Charles Calvert, Lord Baltimore, proprietor of Maryland, grandson of George Calvert, and son of Cecil, had Mattapany his favorite residence from 1662 to 1682, when he returned to England, where he died in 1714, as good a Catholic as his father and grandfather.*

*The residence of Charles Calvert had so much decayed, that the grand*



by means of a combination of the following factors: 1. The position of the body in space. 2. The position of the body in time. 3. The position of the body in space and time.

THE FIRST FACTOR (POSITION) IS THE POSITION OF THE BODY IN SPACE.

It is the position of the body in space that is always the same. It is the position of the body in space that is always the same. It is the position of the body in space that is always the same.

There are three factors in the position of the body in space. The first factor is the position of the body in space. The second factor is the position of the body in space. The third factor is the position of the body in space. The first factor is the position of the body in space. The second factor is the position of the body in space. The third factor is the position of the body in space.

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or great-grandfather of Father Sewall, had built a fine brick house at a short distance, and in that manor-house Father Sewall was born. Indeed, I walked with delight in the place where our good friend had been playing, and saying his prayers as a child. I regretted he was gone, because he would have been pleased with my details about the place of his birth and baptism. [Woodstock Letters, Vol. X, pages 256-258.]

Father Grivel's letter does not give the exact age of the present manor house, but it does prove that a manor house was there at that time, and that it was not the Calvert house. As an on the spot eye witness, I do not believe that he would have thought that Father Sewall was born in the house unless Father Sewall had told him so or unless it appeared to be that old or older at that time. Father Nicholas Lewis Sewall was born in 1745, therefore the present manor house was built at least before that date. In my opinion it was built soon after the land came back into the possession of the Sewall family in 1722, and during the tenancy of Nicholas Sewall, Jr., son of Major Nicholas Sewall. The Calvert house had probably been tenanted out by the Lords Baltimore from 1682 until 1722 and the house was beyond repair in 1722, at least for the principal residence. As already stated, additions and extensive renovations were made to the second manor house after it was purchased by the Thomas family.

\* \* \*

The above ends Mr. Fenwick's important research article on Mattapan. The Deed of Trust, previously mentioned on page 171, follows:

#### DEED OF TRUST

24 January 1840.

George Forbes of St. Mary's County, Maryland, and Mary E. Forbes, his wife  
to George Thomas

Whereas by Indenture dated 6 March 1824 made between Jane Armstrong of the one part and James Hulton of the other part, there was conveyed by the former to the latter a parcel of ground situated in the City of Baltimore.

To hold to the said James Hulton for the residue of the term originally granted In trust for the said Jane Armstrong for life free from any claim of any future husband and after her decease to the children born of her body, if no children then In trust for Edward Armstrong, Robert C. Armstrong, Thomas Armstrong, William Armstrong, Andrew Armstrong, and John Armstrong--as recorded in Baltimore, Md. Liber W.G. No 170, ff 626 etc. Since making this Trust on 31 July 1832 said Jane intermarried with Richard Thomas of St. Mary's County, Maryland, and has issue to wit: several children of the said marriage, who are now of full life. And whereas Robert C. Armstrong and Thomas Armstrong being both dead and not having left lawful issue, the above named William Armstrong, Andrew Armstrong, and John Armstrong by deed 13 May 1833 recorded in Baltimore Liber T.K. No 233, ff 88 etc. conveyed their interest to Jane Thomas and Edward Armstrong.

And whereas a Bill of Complaint of said Richard Thomas and Jane his wife filed in Baltimore County Court against Richard Thomas, Junior, George Thomas, and Andrew Thomas, children of the said Richard and Jane Thomas praying for a sale of said trust so that the proceeds might be invested under the direction of said Richard Thomas.

18 April 1839 decreed that the Trust be sold. The Trust was sold, the net balance being \$13,650.00.

Richard Thomas contracted with George Forbes for the purchase of





Lands herein described for \$17,000 -- \$3000 being the proper money of said Richard Thomas and the balance the Trust.

The parties of the first part do hereby convey unto George Thomas all lands in St. Mary's County in the possession of George Forbes, it being the Land he purchased of Robert Sewall of Prince George County called Mattapany containing 900 acres.

[The above as recorded in Liber St. Mary's Co. Abstract Deeds 1831-1840, folio 536 &c, now in Land Office Building, Annapolis, Maryland.]

THE PLAT DONE BY GEORGE B. DENT in 1873, mentioned on page 172, is beautifully executed. It is on a glossy fabric and measures 38 inches in length and 15 inches in width. The lower half is reproduced on the next page. The upper half describes the three lots and is followed by descriptive remarks "of interest to the Citizens of Maryland". There are evidently at least two copies of this plat: the one in my possession given to me at least 30 years ago by Aunt Lou, and the one described by Mr. Fenwick. Excerpts from the upper half are as follows:

At the request of John H. Turner and Others, Commissioners appointed to divide the real estate of the late Richard Thomas, I do hereby certify that I have carefully resurveyed the said estate, known as Mattaponi, and have divided the same into Three Lots or Parcels as by the said Commissioners directed.

Beginning for Lot No. 1, Open land, at a Cedar tree standing on a point of Upland between Two small streams of water, it being the beginning of Lot No. 3 and Running thence with said Lot the Four . . .

Beginning next for Lot No. 2, at a marked Cedar tree, standing by the West Side of the public road leading from the Great Mills to Millstone Landing, in Mattaponi lane and 84  $7/10$  fts [fs? ps?] from . . .

Beginning lastly for Lot No. 3, at the beginning of Lot No. 1 and Running therewith to the shore of Patuxent river, thence with Said Shore N.  $79\ 1/3$  Degs E.  $10\ 1/3$  ps [?] N.  $64\ 1/4$  Degs E.  $26\ 2/5$  ps [?] . . .

Surveyed and Certified this 30th Day of May 1873 by Geo. B. Dent, Surveyor for the Commiss<sup>s</sup>

The Commissioners, in this case, were . . . assistants . . .

Mattaponi must always be of interest to the Citizens of Maryland. It is connected with most of the leading incidents in the early history of the Province. The ruins of "Mattaponi House" are some 350 yds S.E. of the present Mansion House. It was here that Philip Calvert resided, and here also were the colonial archives carried at the time of the Protestant revolution.

The soil is of excellent quality and much of it is highly improved. A large part of the estate is open and arable; the ballance is covered with timber, mostly Pine Oak and Chesnut, all convenient to navigation. The land is well drained, and abundantly watered. The Springs and Streams near "Mattaponi House" for abundance and beauty are possibly unequaled in the Country. The Patuxent river, Matchless on this Continent, for depth of water, fine harbors, and for the abundance and excellence of fish, Oysters and wild fowl, bounds the Estate on the North, and in open weather, Steamers land at the wharfs, every day except Sunday.

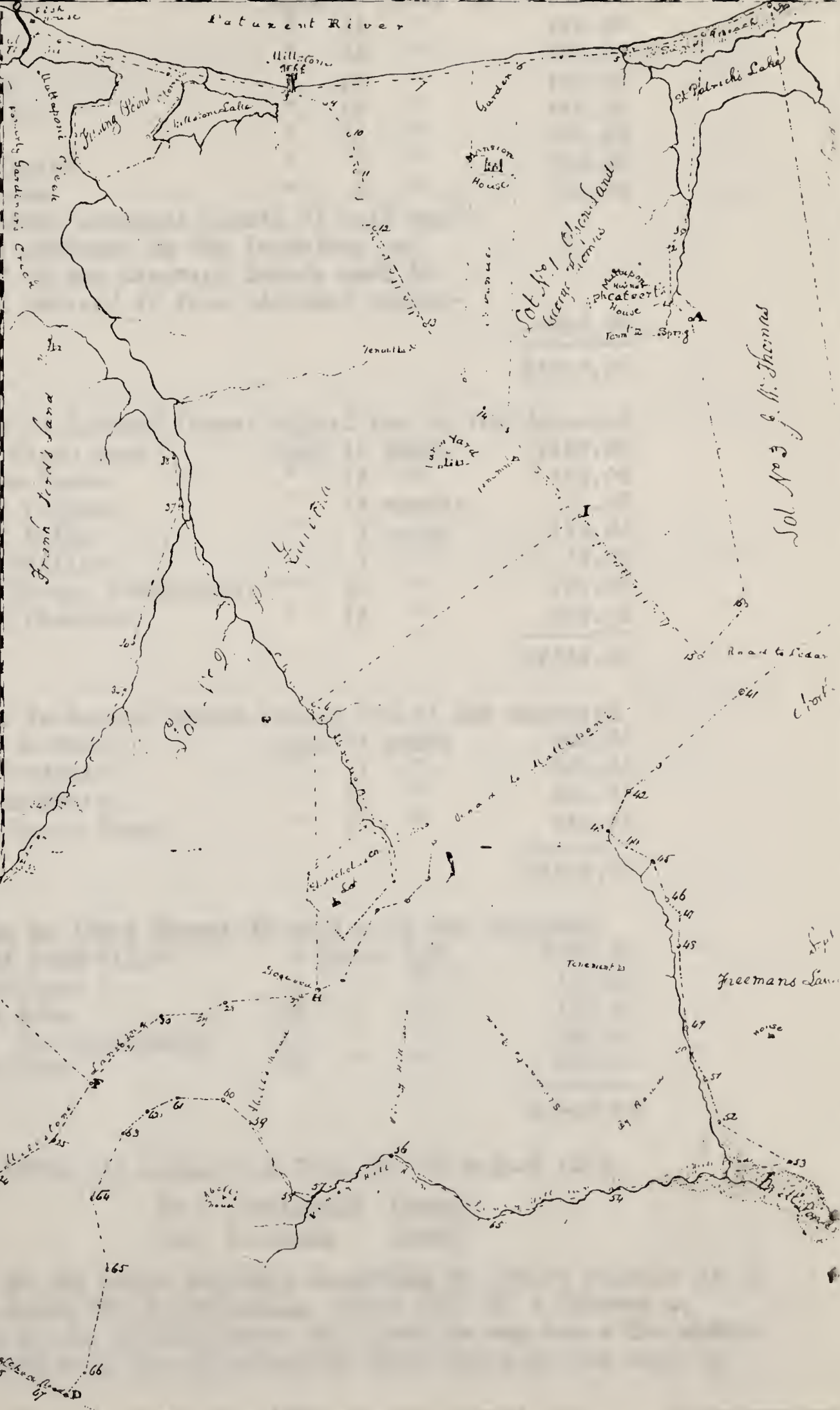
The lower half of the Dent scroll, next page, is necessarily reduced by more than one-half. Note the Farm Yard to the south of the Mansion; this was the location of the tenant's home as we knew it, and it still stands (as officer quarters). Forming a triangle with these two, and to the right are the old ruins. At bottom center is shown the St. Nicholas Church lot.





Notes

3. is an old post among shells  
2. a white Oak shown by Chas. Kirby  
1. a Chestnut tree shown by Wm. C. Discoe  
2. a Cedar post by the road, now set.  
fig 26. a locust post now set.  
1. a marked Cedar tree by the road.  
2. a Cedar, by a leaning Cherry tree.  
1. a log 4000 ft. by 10 ft. across

[illegible]





After the death of Richard Thomas in 1849 there was a "Revaluation & Division the Estate of Richard Thomas" which was recorded in "one of the records of the Orphans Court of St. Marys County". A "true copy" is given below:

We allot & assign to Mrs. Jane Thomas widow of the deceased

1 Negro man Ben	aged 53 years	400.00
1 Woman Ann	" 41 "	350.00
1 Boy Cyrus	" 18 "	800.00
1 Man Hilory	" 21 "	800.00
1 Boy Benedict	" 16 "	650.00
1 Girl Jane	" 15 "	650.00
1 Boy Zach Taylor	" 5 "	250.00
1 Boy Ino Lewis	" 2 "	100.00

Also all the other personal Estate of said dec<sup>d</sup> except negroes included in the Inventory and reappraisement of the deceased Estate made by order of Court annexed to this dividend amounting to

4024.00  
\$8024.00

We allot & assign to Richard Thomas oldest son of the deceased

1 Negro man Henry Bean	aged 31 years	\$650.00
1 " Woman Susan	" 34 "	550.00
1 " Girl Ellyena	" 18 months	75.00
1 " Girl Molly	" 3 years	150.00
1 " Boy William	" 1 "	75.00
1 " Man George (carpenter)	" 62 "	200.00
1 " Girl Charlott	" 13 "	650.00
		\$2350.00

We allot & assign to George Thomas second son of the deceased

1 Negro Boy Jo Henry	aged 11 years	600.00
1 " Girl Harriet	" 7 "	300.00
1 " Woman Maria	" 31 "	600.00
1 " Man Henry Gross	" 27 "	850.00
		\$2350.00

We allot & assign to James Thomas third son of the deceased

1 Negro Girl Mary Eliza	9 years old	\$300.00
1 " Girl Emma	3 " "	150.00
1 " Man John	35 " "	700.00
1 " " Jim (Carpenter)	39 " "	650.00
1 " Man Clem	48 " "	- 550.00
		\$2350.00

Given under our hands and seals this 30th day of August 1853

Jo K. Greenwell (seal)  
Jas. F. Abell (seal)

We have awarded to the widow property amounting to \$80.24 because it is understood that after the distribution, there will be a balance of 3024.12 left due to the administrator which she is pay him & the deduction of which would make her distributive share \$4016.62 and that of





each of the Children \$2677.75, we therefore award her the above property provided the said balance ascertained by the Court to be due the administrators & provided she be directed by the Court to pay it. & we also award that she pay each of the Children the sum of three hundred and twenty seven dollars & seventy five cents.

Joseph K. Greenwell (seal)  
Jas. F. Abell (seal)

MILLSTONE LANDING was purchased by Jane Armstrong five years after her husband's death. We have the following:

St. Mary's County Commrs. Office  
Sept. 9th 1851.

Ordered that John D. Freeman have the privilege of erecting a Steamboat wharf on the public landing at Millstone landing on the Patuxent River, at his own expence, and the said wharf to be his own property; provided that said wharf is no injury to the said public landing.

March 15th 1854

Mrs. Jane Thomas

Bot at John D. Freemans Sale 1 Wharf & Buildings Millstone Landing = \$1200.00 June 22. Recd a Note at 6 months for the above.  
John D. Freeman Executor of  
John D. Freeman Junr.

The note (together with personal checks of her late husband) is reproduced on the next page. The note was duly paid 21 September 1854, according to endorsement on the back, together with \$37.00 interest for six months and five days.

Jane Armstrong Thomas died in 1871 and, as we have previously noted, she left Mattapany to her three sons, that portion containing the mansion going to her eldest son, Richard (Zarvona). We have further seen that the three brothers redistributed their lands following the Civil War. The deed, finally giving Capt. George Thomas full right to the mansion and surrounding area is given below:

This Deed, made this sixteenth day of May, in the year eighteen hundred and eighty four, by me Robt. C. Combs, surviving Trustee Witnesseth: whereas by virtue of a Deed of Trust, executed on the 1st day of Dec. 1873, by R. T. Zarvona to John W. Mitchell and the said Robt. C. Combs, the said John W. Mitchell and Robt. C. Combs, Trustees did sell at public auction, the property mentioned in said deed of trust, on the 25th May 1875, and George Thomas became the purchaser at said sale, and whereas the said sale was reported to the Circuit Court for St. Mary's County, sitting as a Court of Equity, and has been finally satisfied by said Court, and the purchase money for said property has been fully paid by the said George Thomas purchaser, and whereas the said John W. Mitchell one of the said Trustees, has since said sale departed this life.

Now therefore in consideration of the premises, I the said Robt. C. Combs, surviving Trustee, do grant unto the said George Thomas all that tract or parcel of land, lying in St. Mary's County, commonly called and known by the name of "Part Mattapani" and containing three hundred and ninety and one half acres, more or less. It being that portion of Mattapani called Lot No. 2 assigned to R. Thomas Zarvona, by the Commissioners appointed by the Circuit Court for St. Mary's County, sitting as a Court of Equity, in a cause in said Court, marked 338 ltr E, in which the said







No. \_\_\_\_\_

Baltimore, April 13 1839.

**FRANKLIN BANK OF BALTIMORE.**

Pay to

*Self*

or Bearer,

*fifty*

Dollars,

and

Cents.

*Richard Thomas*

50 Dolls. Cts.

Personal checks of Richard Thomas and wife's promissory note for Millstone



*\$ Baltimore, March 13<sup>th</sup> 1834*

*I hereby promise to pay*  
*to the order of John P. Freeman an Executor*  
*of John P. Freeman as of 12.00. Dollars,*  
*value received. With interest from date*

No. \_\_\_\_\_ Dne. \_\_\_\_\_

*Jana Thomas*

Printed by James T. Jones



RECEIVED BY MAIL

1891

1891

1891

1891

1891

R. Thomas Zarvona was Complainant, and the said George Thomas with a certain James W. Thomas were Defendants, and which is embraced within the metes and bounds as mentioned in the certificate of the Survey returned by said Commissioners, in said Equity proceedings as comprising Lot No. 2. Witness my hand and seal this day and year aforesaid.

Test:

Jo. F. Morgan

Robt. C. Combs (seal)

Surviving Trustee

Captain George died in 1903 but his widow, Ellen Ogle, continued the management of the lands. Although it seems that we are writing very much in the past, it is interesting that Mrs. Thomas had as her tenant farmer the same E. Archie Bell that all of our generation knew, and who continued to farm the land through the remaining years that the Thomas family owned Mattapany. Below is the Agreement between Mrs. Thomas and Mr. Bell for the year 1910, dated August 1909:

WHEAT. Mr. Bell is to put in wheat the Readmonds field and part of the Mill Field, properly preparing the same and cutting and harvesting the wheat. He is to furnish the seed wheat and two-thirds of the guano, which must be a good bone guano, not less than three hundred pounds to the acre. Mrs. Thomas is to furnish one-third of the guano, and the crop is to be shipped in the joint names of the two parties to this contract, and the proceeds divided, one-third to Mrs. Thomas and two-thirds to Mr. Bell. He is also to have the use of two-thirds of the straw, but none is to be moved from the place.

TOBACCO. Mr. Bell is to put about ten acres in tobacco, in the Race or Mill Field, as he may choose, furnishing all labor and machinery for it, and one-half of the fertilizer, and the crop is to be shipped in the joint names of the two parties to this contract, and the proceeds divided one-half to Mrs. Thomas and one-half to Mr. Bell. Mrs. Thomas is to furnish one-half of the fertilizer.

CORN. The Race Field is to be put in corn, except such part as Mr. Bell may put in tobacco, and Mr. Bell is to secure for Mrs. Thomas, as she may direct, one-third of the corn, one-third of the shucks and one-third of the provender.

Mr. Bell is to keep on the place only his working horses and oxen and three cows. He can also keep ten hogs for killing, and they are to be kept in the wood lot, back of the cultivated land. No ducks or geese are to be raised, and his poultry is to be kept, as far as possible, off the growing crops. Mrs. Thomas agrees to pay for any new rails, which Mr. Bell may have cut, for a fence across the White Field, and he is to haul them and put the fence up, if he desires to graze it, after the hay is cut. Mrs. Thomas further agrees he may keep ten sheep. The back part of the Barn Field he may use for pasture if he will fence it off. He is to keep clean and in repair all fences around growing crops.

Ellen Ogle Thomas died two months after drawing up the above agreement. Her will, made the previous year, is as follows:

I leave to my daughters, Louisa Ogle and Kate, my personal property on Mattapany, including horses, cattle, &c. on the place and household furniture, except such as may be eliminated by a memorandum enclosed, and the service of silver which I leave to my son John. I give, devise, and bequeath my farm known as Mattapany and my wharf at Millstone Landing to my son John H. Thomas, in trust, nevertheless, to pay the net income arising therefrom to my daughters, Louisa Ogle and Kate, during their life, as long as they shall remain unmarried, and upon the marriage or death of either of my daughters, then to the survivor during her life, or





as long as she shall remain unmarried; and I empower the said John H. Thomas, by and with the consent of a majority of my children then living, including my two daughters, if living and unmarried, said consent to be in writing, to sell and dispose of my property known as "Mattapany" and "Millstone Landing", and convey the same by deed duly executed by him to the purchasers thereof, and to invest the proceeds of such sale in some safe manner as he may deem for the best interests of all concerned. From and after the marriage or death of both my daughters, then all of my property is to be divided equally among my children, share and share alike.

We have seen (page 119) that Kate--better known as Katharine or Kitty--married Dr. Browse a year after her mother's death; Cousin Kitty thus lost her share in Mattapany and the property thence belonged to Louisa Ogle--Loulie, Aunt Lou. But it was impracticable for Aunt Lou to continue to live at Mattapany; within a few years she moved to Baltimore but thereafter spent her summers at Mattapany. Meanwhile the question of the disposition of the place presented itself. All of the brothers lived in different localities so that most of the discussion was through correspondence. John, Tazewell, and Edward all were interested in acquiring the place, and the others hoped that Mattapany would remain in the family. Some of the letters follow:

URANIUM STEAMSHIP CO. LTD.

Edw. O. Thomas  
New York Manager

121 Produce Exchange

New York March 1, 1911.

My dear John,

Some days ago Tazewell spoke to me about having made an offer for Mattapany. He told me that he had offered \$15000 for it. If the place is for sale I should like to have an opportunity of getting it. Do you think the family will ever get together and consent to its being sold. Now that there is no one left there it amounts to little more than what it is worth in dollars and cents. I will give \$12000 for the place without the wharf property but I suppose you would place a higher value than this on it?

Affectionately,  
Edw. O. Thomas

March 6, 1911.

My dear John,

I am sorry to hear that your health has been doubtful and I hope you will not be compelled to give up business for any such reason but I must say that I would not mind giving up now such an attractive place as you have for what you might get out of a place in the South. So far as Mattapany is concerned, if I bought it I would only retain the home side. I do not see why any members of the family should object to your buying the place at \$15000. I am sure my interests in it are so slight I would very much like to see you own it at any figure. If you bought it, it would probably mean it would remain intact and I should like to see it stay in the family. . . . I am still feeling that I am going to go back to a farm by the time I am forty if not before.

Affectionately yours,  
Edward

Jan. 6, 1912.

Dear Tazewell,

John writes me that all the members of the family are willing that he should have Mattapany @ \$17,500. So far as you are concerned





I suppose this is true. For my part I should much rather see it remain as it is, for it is possible at some future date I may have some interest in it and derive some benefit out of it which I have not had for the last 19 years. It would seem to me that a share in Mattapany at some future date will much more likely increase in value than any securities which might replace it. John writes me that the house needs shingling & the barns are in need of repair & that there is no money to do it with. It seems to me that if such a farm cannot maintain itself it is being poorly managed, in fact not managed at all. I should like to know how you feel about it.

Afly

Edw. O. Thomas

New Martinsville

Dec. 11, 1912.

My dear John,

In reply to your letter about your purchase of Mattapany, there are no objections I could possibly offer. Your offer of \$15,000, besides assuming the mortgage of \$2500 is a fair price for it, in my estimation. And I would be particularly glad to know that you owned it, not only as the head of the family, but because it seems the best, if not the only way of keeping up & preserving the old home place!

Affectionately yours

Katharine T. Browne

Troy, Ohio

Dec. 7th 1912.

My dear John:-

I am certain that nothing would please me more than to see you in possession of Mattapany, & to restore it as it should be done. But I forewarn you that I shall continue to come down in the future as I have been accustomed to doing for the last fifteen or twenty years, for as long as it remains in the hands of any member of the family I shall still look on it as home. I should hate to see Mattapany pass into other hands, for no one could have the interest in it that we have, and then I should feel as though we were almost false to our trust to allow others to take the place. Were it not that my work necessitates my being elsewhere I should like nothing better than to end my days there. I hope there will be no objections raised by other members of the family, for I do not see what is to become of the old place otherwise.

With much love

Affectionately Yours

Upton B. Thomas

BIRMINGHAM SPECIAL

En Route Dec. 21, 1912.

My dear John:

Your letter of the 5th Inst. was sometime in reaching me on account of my absence from Atlanta. I have noted carefully what you say in regard to Mattapany. I am perfectly willing for you to act as you think best for all parties concerned. As an investment I do not think Mattapany is worth more than \$17500, & I would certainly like to see it remain in the family. Whatever you and Loulie think best to do with the place you can count on my consent.

I am on my way to Baltimore & N.Y. for a ten days trip. I am pretty well tired out as I have done a great deal of travelling in the past month. I am getting on very well in my business and my health is better





than it has been for a long time. With best wishes for a Merry Xmas,  
I am affy. your brother,  
R. Brooke Thomas

Dec. 27, 1912.

Dear John,

Your letter of the 26th with reference to your taking over Mattapani duly received. The last time I saw Tazewell, he told me that he could dispose of the place for a very much larger amount. I think it is worth more than \$15000--and would bring more, and if you wish to buy it in without any definite idea as to what you will do with it and in view of its not even carrying itself satisfactorily, I cant see why the family would not be as well satisfied to let me have it & I will go there to live and would like to do it. I will take it for \$15000 & will pay cash for it and you no doubt will be saved the trouble which it would always give you unless you were making it your headquarters. So far as the price of the place is concerned I am not interested except as a purchaser. I have never received anything from it for our eighteen years and since mother's death it could not in any way even be considered a home that any of us have the least right to & I feel as you do that any interest so far as value is concerned is too remote to be worth considering. . . .

Aff. yours,

Edw. O. Thomas

Law Offices

TAZEWELL T. THOMAS

JOHN H. ELLIOTT

Cable Address

"SPINOSA"

Maryland Trust Building

BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

January 9th, 1913.

Mr. John H. Thomas

84 State Street,

Boston, Mass.

My dear John:-

Acknowledging your letters of the 3rd and 4th, my letter of March 3rd, 1911, of which I kept and enclose herewith a copy, outlines my position then and now.

Loulie's reference, as well as Edward's, to a possible purchaser through this office is based upon my statement that I have on quite a number of occasions during the last three years been urged to secure permission for an examination of the property by several parties who knew of it and wished to look it over provided it could be bought at not over \$40,000; these were in no sense direct offers of purchase, but were bona fide inquiries from substantial interests: frankly, I believe the property can be sold for considerably more than \$17,500 provided it is placed upon the market and proper efforts made to dispose of it: but this would be in violation of every feeling that I have in connection with the place and such a step will not be taken with my approval. Your offer is a very liberal one based upon the income value of the property as an investment and I cannot believe that any member of the family will eventually see it in any other light or will be willing to have the place thrown on the market for the sake of such additional price as an outsider might give, or will insist that at the present time "it is worth what it will sell for" since you wish to take it; . . .

With much love to Loulie and yourself,

Affectionately yours,

T. T. Thomas





January 9th, 1913.

Mr. Edward O. Thomas,  
13 Broadway,  
New York City.

My dear Ed:-

John has written me about taking over Mattapany for \$17,000, and states that he has written the other members of the family to this effect; his attitude seems to be that it will be almost impossible for Loulie to continue the place as her home under existing conditions, and that this will make it necessary to dispose of the place, in which event he wishes to take over and restore it largely as a matter of family pride; as a money revenue producer, John is certainly correct in stating that \$17,500 is a good price for the property. I have always stated my ready willingness that he should take the place, as he is undoubtedly the one in the best position to restore it, and I shall be delighted to see him do this at the earliest possible time; with his expressed desire to restore the place, the price would have no weight whatever with me, even if my interest in the place were one upon which I might realize in the near future: my feeling is entirely guided by my pride in seeing the place restored through the one in the immediate family who is best able to do this.

John is entirely correct as to the needs of the place at the present time and the probable necessity for disposing of it in the near future in some way or other; you appreciate as well as I do the impossibility of managing it under existing conditions with any great degree of success as a revenue producer; I like several others in the family, including yourself, of course I should like to own the place and was ready to take it over a year or two ago, but from every standpoint I should prefer to see John take it and hope that you will look at it in the same light.

With love to Millicent and yourself,  
Affectionately yours,  
T. T. Thomas

Caixa 88,  
Porto Alegre, Brazil.  
February 17th 1913.

To all whom it may concern--

I hereby give my full and free consent to the selling of the Estate of Mattapany to my brother, John Henry Thomas, for the sum of Seventeen Thousand Five Hundred Dollars (\$17500.00). I do this, feeling that first of all it will be in the interest of my sister, Louisa Ogle Thomas, and secondly that the unity of our family, which is much to be desired, will be promoted by the home place's development under the ownership of our oldest brother. Also I am of the opinion that the purchase of the old homestead by the oldest son would be acceptable to our beloved, departed parents.

Wm. Matthews Merrick Thomas

April 29, 1913.

Dear John,

The long legal document has been duly received. The only part which puzzles me is why are Upton & Brooke named defendants?

I am glad to hear you are getting on your feet again and I should think the independent life you are now leading would be an incentive to quit business altogether.

Affec.

E. O. Thomas





Cousin Ed's puzzlement over the named defendants puzzles me too. I do not have the document at hand, but in letter dated 5 March 1913, Cousin Tazewell wrote to Cousin John giving particulars of how the deed should be executed, but this legal quirk was not mentioned. Also, it is likely that Cousin Tazewell had a part in drawing up the deed for he wrote that "under no circumstances would I be willing to have you pay me for drawing the deed and, for your own protection, I suggest that this should be done by an outside attorney, which can be fully covered by my drawing the deed and sending it to you for the approval of some legal friend in Boston..."

The sentiments of all the sisters and brothers concerning the sale of Mattapany are shown in the above letters--except for Aunt Lou. But it should be obvious that her feelings were considered and that she was fully consulted; at the time of the negotiations she was living with her brother John in Boston.

A photograph of Mattapany (contributed by Anne Conklin) as it appeared at this time is shown on next page.

Upton, Jr. has given some interesting details concerning the house. His remarks have been somewhat edited by Hilda Mumford and myself and I have made some slight changes in the floor plans given on pages 186-187 which were redrawn by his son Richard with the comment that they were "made up from Father's recollection and Edie's photograph albums; by various bits of geometric construction and projection I arrived at the basic dimensions and relative locations of windows, doors, and porches". Upton states that the drawings are reasonably accurate but suggests an error which is verified by Hilda: "On the first floor the closet may well have been larger, to include the window which I have shown as being in the study". Upton's letter:

March 1, 1962.

Dear Armstrong:

I am enclosing sketches representing my memory of the layout at Mattapany as it was in 1928. I spent some time discussing its architectural history with my father that summer and I did a fair amount of research into its construction.

When Richard Thomas bought the house in 1840, it was nearly square and the upper floor had only three windows across the front; the west end containing the library, parlor, and the rooms above were added by him. The main entrance was on the west side of the hall; he filled in the old doorway when he added to the house, and he built the boxed-in stairs. Either then or later he raised the north wall of the house about two feet and extended the roof toward the river to form a long portico on that side, presumably supported by columns and having a ground level terrace reached by a few steps down from the hall door.

In George Thomas' time, the north side of the house was felt to be too dark and damp, the columns collapsed with termites, and the portico was removed. The wall on that side, however, remained two feet higher as can be seen from photographs of the west end of the house, showing the elevation to be unsymmetrical.

The brickwork of the older part of the house and of the kitchen is in Flemish bond with every other brick a header; the later work, including the whole west end and the two foot extension of the north wall, is in common bond with only an occasional header to give the wall strength.

Originally the kitchen was a separate building, which was later joined to the main house by a frame structure containing store room and pantry on first floor, a back stairway, and a bath room upstairs, with a







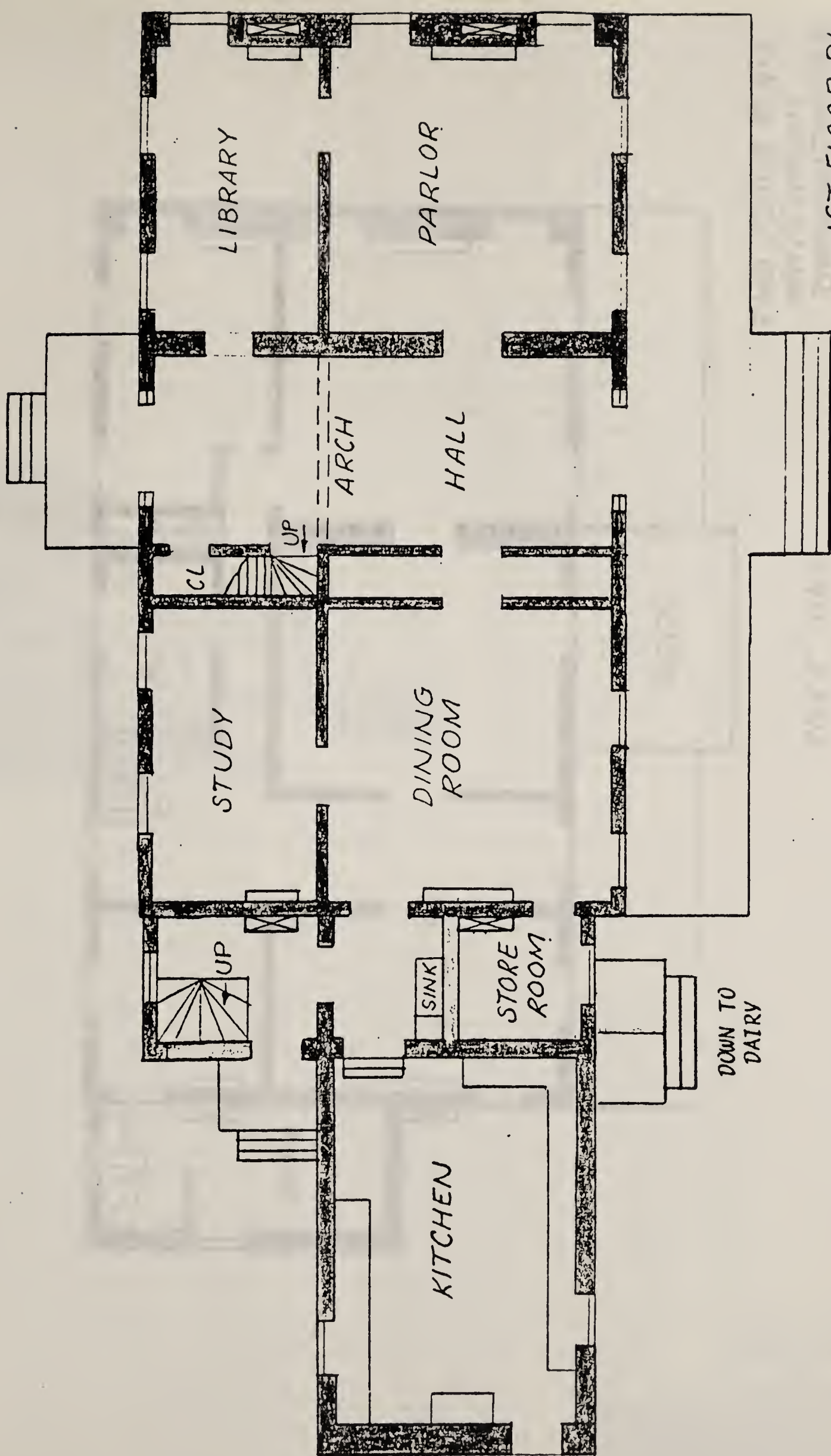


"MATTAPANY" about 1910





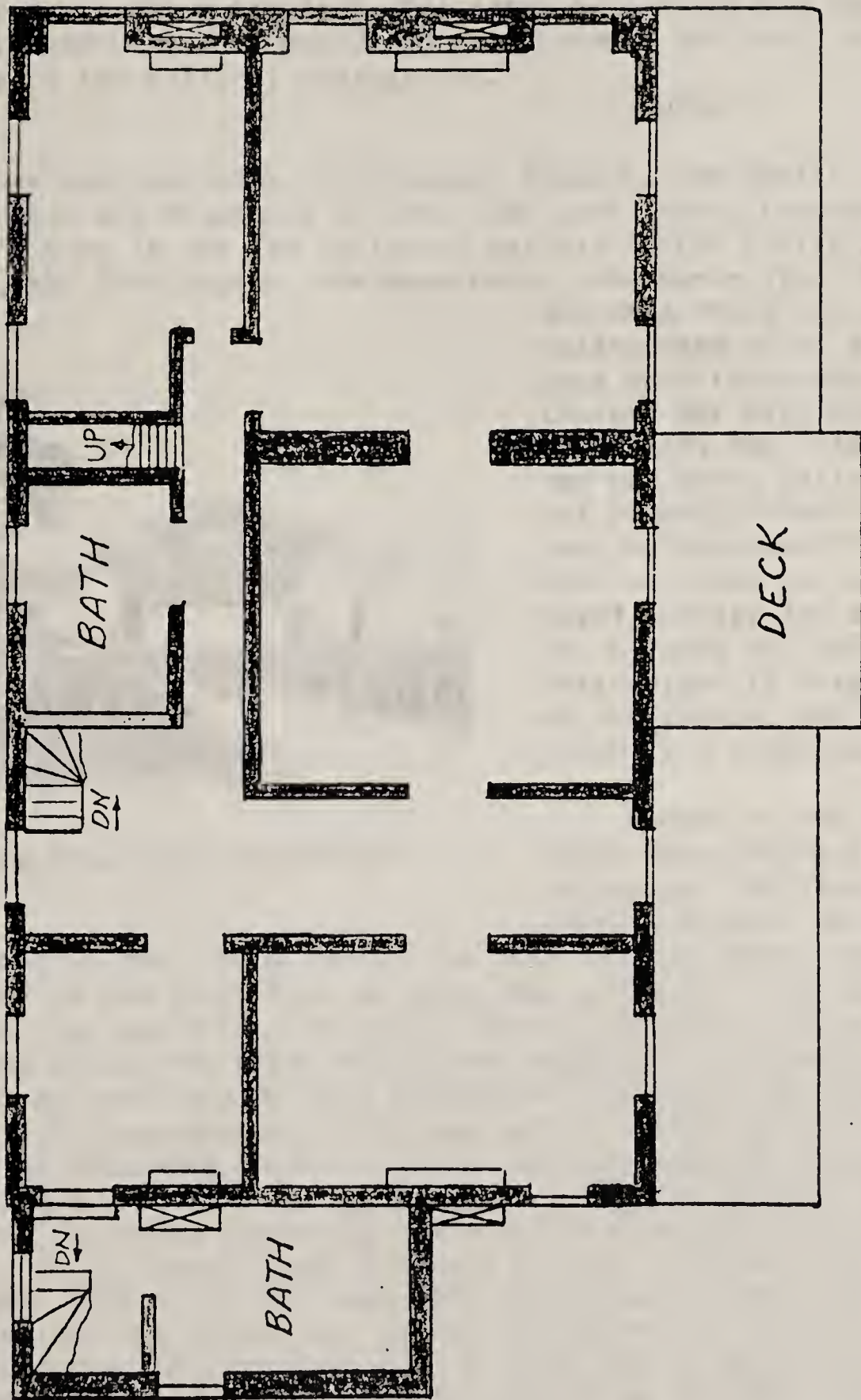
“Biltmore” - 1910



1ST FLOOR PLAN  
MATTAPAN  
RICHARD N. THOMAS  
AUGUST 10, 1910







2ND FLOOR PLAN  
MATTAPANY  
RICHARD N. THOMAS  
AUGUST 10, 1962

RIVER SIDE





little hall leading to bedroom in the main structure. The bathroom and hall were one or two steps down and the kitchen was about four steps down on the ground level. The dairy was several steps down, under the store-room and had an entrance way under a shed where the churning was usually done.

When Uncle John bought the house in 1913, he added the porches which we all knew. The north (river side) porch first was covered only in the middle where there was a sun deck, but later he covered the rest. Previously there had been only uncovered stoops front and back, as can be seen in some of the earliest photographs.

*Upton*

There are many pictures of Mattapany taken by the family. Included in my collection are snapshots of front and back lawns, the south field with tenant's home in the far distance, our old darkie Louisa in front of her kitchen, the farm houses, the pump house, the shore line showing Sus-

quehanna Wharf and what we called Deep Point at the narrows near the mouth of the Patuxent, the high bluff over the river, the little wharf and oar house built by us boys, our rowboat "Anne" with sail, and our sailboat "Frolic". Most of these are of insufficient quality for reproduction. The kitchen and dairy are not satisfactorily revealed in any of the photos, but the sketch below is a rough representation.



*Farm Houses at "MATTAPANY"*

time, was used as the living room. The arch appears nearer the doorway than is shown in the floor plan on page 186; perhaps, in the plan, the doors to stairway and closet should be closer together. (In this photo, we are facing south, the door to stairway partially eclipses that to the closet, both of which are to left of central doorway.) The chairs in the photo now are in possession of Hilda Mumford, the table in left of photo is in the home of Armstrong Thomas Wallace, and the sofa to the right is in Upton Jr.'s home. Note the missing arrows in window design. On the right wall were two companion engravings, one of which was *The School of Athens* by Raphael. An oil-lamp chandelier hung from the center of the arch. The door in right of photo is the same door as is seen in photo of the music room on page 190; the piano seen in this photo now is in the home of Mrs. J. Spence Howard at St. Mary's City. On page 191 is another photo of Mattapany, together with drawings showing changes in the roof over the years. These three pages of photos are from an article by Helen Forman Kerchner, illustrations by Harris & Ewing, which appeared in the Magazine Section of the *Baltimore Sunday Sun* in the 1920's (no date appears) under the title: "MATTAPONY--THE CRADLE OF A NATION" with the sub-title: "It Was In St. Mary's County's Historic Mansion That So Many Imposing Meet-

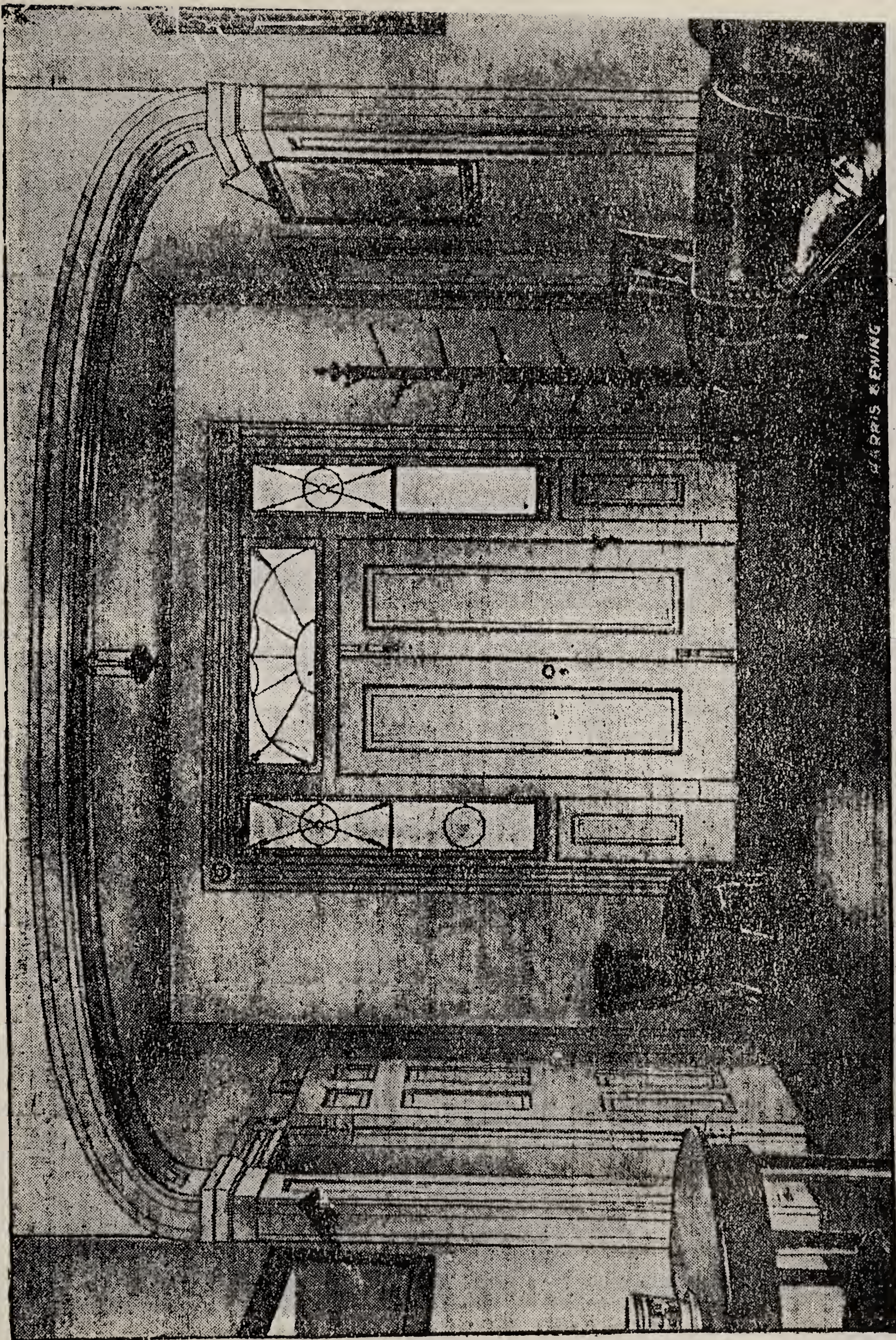
Photos on the next two pages show interior views at Mattapany. On page 189 is the central hallway which, in our











HARRIS & EWING

The hall at Mattapony, showing the unusual arrow design in the leaded glass windows and the graceful arch in the hall.



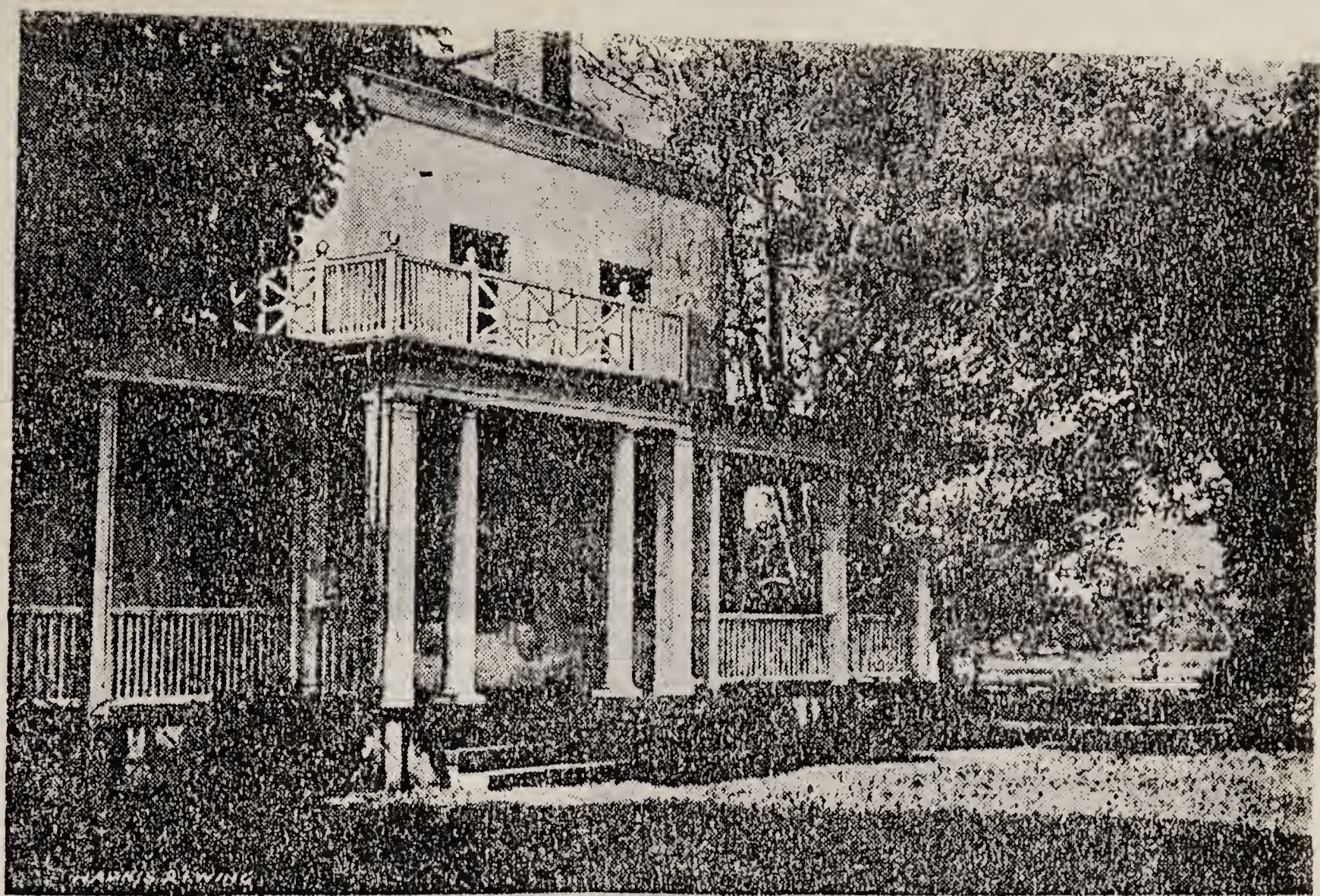


PLAN OF THE  
BUILDING OF THE  
MUSEUM OF THE  
CITY OF NEW YORK

THE BUILDING OF THE  
MUSEUM OF THE  
CITY OF NEW YORK  
IS LOCATED AT  
THE CORNER OF  
FIFTH AVENUE  
AND 103RD STREET  
NEW YORK CITY

THE BUILDING OF THE  
MUSEUM OF THE  
CITY OF NEW YORK  
IS LOCATED AT  
THE CORNER OF  
FIFTH AVENUE  
AND 103RD STREET  
NEW YORK CITY





The front of Mattapony opening upon shaded grass plots.

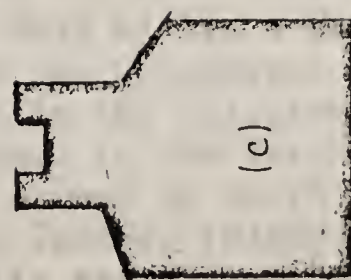
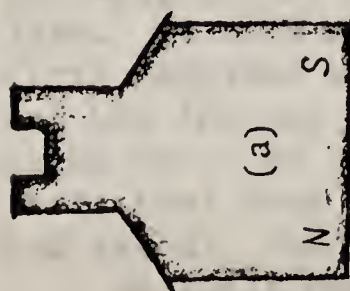


A corner of the music room. Note the rifle closets and the ancient melodeon.









The roof was at one time symmetrical (a). Then pillars were added (b) and north side of roof was raised. When the pillars were removed (c), north and south sides of roof were unsymmetrical; this also is seen in the photograph. Later the porches (d) were added. When the Navy took over, the north side was lowered to resemble (a) again, and dormer windows were added.







ings Of Revolutionary Days Were Held". At the beginning of the article there is pictured the south front of Mattapany, filling one-half the page; I have not reproduced this as it adds nothing to what already has been included. It bears the caption: "Mattapony was once the seat of Governor Calvert and the scene of an elegant provincial court". The article itself follows:

When a lord of a Southern Maryland manor went a-calling, he did not travel by land. He ordered out his boat and oarsmen. Stepping grandly--or fearfully as his disposition prompted--into his small craft, he gave the signal for the rowers to pull at their oars. Then went gliding away along the waters of the bay and its rivers. Passing forests where curious Indians peeped out from behind trees, wound in and out of coves and through shallows until at the end of some lovely headland the boat came slowly to rest on the beach of a grand plantation.

All of the best plantations of Southern Maryland were on the water. All had superb locations, broad views of rapidly flowing waters and green shores, Colonial settlements generally were close to the water. Water was the element the Colonist knew best in the new country. In the land back from the shore was danger from unfriendly Indians and wild beasts.

Roads there were none. A few trails perhaps through the fields and woods, but so few that when a man wanted to talk to a friend or transport grain, he avoided the land and took to his boats.

In one of the great houses on the Patuxent river in St. Mary's county there were many important visitors, many conferences relating to the organization and growth of the young colony. Imposing meetings of councilors, drama enough to crowd the lives of a hundred modern houses.

This house of big events was Mattapony, now the home of Mr. and Mrs. John H. Thomas, of New York and of St. Mary's county. Once the mansion was--but I cannot tell in one-half sentence the flashing history of Mattapony. Better to make its history a tale of fiction. For fiction it most resembles. Take for the central figure of this story, not a human being of flesh and blood, with loves and hates and temptations, but the old house itself. Inanimate as its bricks and boards may seem to the uninitiated, it has more personality than a townful of people.

Something of a philosopher, old Mattapony must be. And a bit of a humorist, too. So many have been the vicissitudes of its life that it has had to be a philosopher and a humorist or it would have died. It never would have been able to endure the grim turns of fate that 275 years of a new country brought.

Lately, after a decade of neglect, its days have been pleasant and serene. At the careful hands of Mr. Thomas it has been restored to a likeness of what it must have been in the days of Southern Maryland's greatness.

Way back in the beginning of the world, or at least this part of the world, the estate of Mattapony was an Indian village. Here lived the peaceful tribe of the Mattapients. King Pantheon was their ruler.

If one judge by the few deeds of King Pantheon that history notices, one would think that here was the noble red man. His tribe was not warlike. So mild and friendly were they that within a few years after the first Maryland colonists had sailed up the Chesapeake Bay, King Pantheon and his Indians began to be interested in the religion of the white medicine men. So interested did they become in the faith of the Jesuit fathers that they gave to these men the ground on which their Indian village had stood. Then the Mattapients moved farther inland.

On their new plantation the Jesuits established a mission station and a storehouse. Not for long, however, were the priests left in control





of their post. All of Europe was red with the blood of the religious wars. Even into the colony founded on the principles of religious freedom a reflection of Europe's conflict fell.

Charles Calvert, Governor of the colony and son of Caecilius, and soon to be third Lord Baltimore, confiscated Mattapony, the gift of the Mattapients, and took it and all other lands held by this order in Maryland for his Palatinate.

This edict for confiscation having been executed before Charles Calvert reached his new post, it behooved him to give away part of the Jesuit lands to his secretary, Mr. Henry Sewall, of London.

Now--and this is a part of the story of Mattapony that made the house a philosopher--Mr. Henry Sewall had a wife, a very beautiful wife, who had been Jane Lowe. She was the sister of Col. Vincent Lowe, of Talbot county. Even in a story in which a house plays a leading role, one must "*cherchez la femme*".

Henry Sewall and his wife and their three children traveled from England on the same ship with Gov. Charles Calvert. Governor Calvert was a widower then. Letters tell that he set up housekeeping in his executive mansion at St. Marie's, known as the Palace of St. John's. Even in exile, the "persons of fashion" among the Maryland colonists lived in elegance and kept up their ancient traditions--as none other but Englishmen could do.

At the Palace of St. John's, Governor Calvert had an "entourage" of thirty retainers. When he presided at councils, he wore robes of ermine. His council and the persons of distinction in his colony wore beautiful garments, with lace frills at their cuffs, signet rings and broad hats with graceful plumes. On their feet were silken hose and shoes of fine leather with shining buckles. In the portrait of Governor Calvert one sees his opulent periwig with long curls, which tradition says on occasion "My Lord huffed and flurled".

One sees also from the portrait that Governor Calvert had an appraising eye; that he was a man of quick decision. And, so seeing, one understands that when Henry Sewall died, unable to endure the new country, Governor Calvert married the beautiful widow Jane, moved his Palace of St. John's, periwig, entourage and other equipment over to Mattapony--and all within the year after poor Henry Sewall had died. This was in 1665.

Slight wonder that the old house philosophized. It hadn't forgotten that this Governor Calvert had given M . . . present to the first husband . . . beautiful Jane Lowe. [Clipping damaged.]

Mattapony now entered upon the days of its glory. A fine new mansion to take the place of the house left by the Jesuits was built by His Lordship.

"A commodious and pleasant habitation" it was described, with rooms for the meeting of his Lordship's Council, the Colonial Militia, and the General Assembly and for the pursuit of such business as the issuance of the commission for the first Land Office and register in the Province.

When Lord Baltimore returned to England, he left certain commissioners at St. Marie's to govern his colony. And here approached a grim turn in the fortunes of the old house. While Lord Baltimore was away, the Protestant revolution broke out in Maryland in 1689. The commissioners were [forced?] to flee from St. Marie's, flee for [their] very lives. Reaching Mattapony, they took refuge in the garrison of the Governor's mansion. What a twist of fortune that the estate from which the Jesuits had once been driven should be the one to shelter Catholic commissioners in danger of losing their heads! Later the house witnessed the signing of the formal articles of surrender by the Catholic Deputies.

Shortly after this event Major Nicholas Sewall, son of Henry Sewall,





the young Charles Calvert's secretary, was granted Mattapony by the man who had married his father's widow. And so the place came into possession of the son of the man to whom Lord Baltimore had originally given it. (Chuckles of mirth from the old house in this tale in which it is the star performer.) For many generations Mattapony remained in the ownership of the Sewall family.

Lately, as I began to say, the house of Mattapony has fallen into serene days. It is such a dear old place. One likes the look of it. Likes the long lane by which its pleasant door is approached. Shading the many windows are great trees--sugar maples, shining white cedars and old, old quaking aspen, which I thought grew only in imagination. Crepe myrtles almost as slow growing as box elder stand in vivid clumps of rose blossoms. After walking over the stones of the door steps, over which so many feet must have hurried--no, not hurried: it is Southern Maryland I am writing about--one is in a center hall or passage like those which distinguished Colonial Georgian houses.

The doorway, with glass leaded in unusual design of arrows, are delicately carved. The arch over the passage is in a fine unbroken span, and the inclosed stairway, though not as beautiful as circular stairs of a later period, is interesting because so seldom seen.

Like all houses built in a less active day than now, it has an unhurried air. Perhaps it is because between the finely proportioned rooms are small passages lined with wood paneling. Perhaps because the window seats, revealing the thickness of the walls as at least eighteen inches, give a sense of seclusion of the remoteness of the rest of the world.

Thus ends Miss Kerchner's article on Mattapany. It was with difficulty that I pieced together the many small fragments of yellowed, brittle, broken parts to make up the whole. The photographs, likewise in poor condition, show better contrast in the reproductions than in the newspaper original.

On the highway to Mattapany, at the lane leading to the mansion, is a stone marker recently (1960) erected by The Descendants of Lords of the Maryland Manors. Close by is a metal marker, erected some years ago, with Maryland seal. The latter reads as follows:

#### MATTAPANY

SITE OF JESUIT MISSION ABOUT 1636 ON LAND GIVEN BY INDIAN KING AND CALLED "MATTAPANIENT HOUSE". SACKED 1642 BY THE INDIANS. STOCKADED FORT AS PROVINCIAL ARSENAL THEN ERECTED. PATENTED 1663 BY HENRY SEWALL AND CALLED "MATTAPANY-SEWALL". HIS WIDOW MARRIED CHARLES, 3RD LORD BALTIMORE, WHO LIVED HERE 1665. PLACE OF SURRENDER OF PROPRIETARY GOVERNMENT AUGUST 1, 1689 AFTER WHICH MARYLAND BECAME A ROYAL PROVINCE UNTIL 1715.

We have traced the history of Mattapany from a number of sources--with a certain amount of repetition, contradictions, and ambiguities; but each has something to add. When I was a child its history was explained in a much simpler fashion; it went something like this:

Mattapany is a very old place and dates back to the early history of Maryland. It has been the Thomas family home for many years. In colonial days it was owned by the Calverts. We are descendants of George, the first Lord Baltimore, and of Leonard, the first Governor of Maryland. Mattapany was built back from the river to give warning of possible attack by Indians who might arrive in their canoes. At one time an Indian lay down on the ground for the night upon a mat which he carried with him.





As he fell asleep he said, "I upon mat". Perhaps he became chilly during the night and, without realizing it, he pulled the mat over him to use as a blanket. In any event, when he awoke, he found the mat on top of him, and he exclaimed, "Mat upon I". And this is how Mattapany got its name.

My remembrances of Mattapany are associated with the wonderful summers I spent there from about 1915 to 1926 when I was six to seventeen years of age. I would come down by steamer from Baltimore. The steamer would always whistle a salute to Mattapany before tying up at Millstone Landing. On at least one occasion I drove down with my sister Ree by way of Leonardtown--in the family's Essex, which burned out a bearing enroute for lack of oil. A more direct route was to drive to Soloman's. Captain Swift would use his power boat to tow a barge across the Patuxent. He would dock, not at the wharf, but along side of it, and the car would be driven off the barge to the sandy shore. The Upton Thomases would make the long trip from Troy, Ohio; one of their cars young Upton described as their "Studillac". George Calvert, James Walter, and Llewellyn were there from time to time on trips from Brazil. Ellen Beall, Robert, and Calvert visited from West Virginia. George (Tazewell) frequently rowed across the river from Soloman's and Hilda was often a visitor. Little Anne doted on Mattapany, making the trip from New York with her mother and father. Mattapany played an important role in bringing together this widely scattered generation.

Cousin John was, of course, the owner of Mattapany at this time. He was greatly respected and I felt that he was a most important person. At the time he was vice-president of the International Mercantile Marine and during the war (W.W. I!) he had been in charge of the port of New York. When others said it couldn't be done, he shipped fully assembled railroad engines to Europe, saving much time and labor from having to ship the parts, with re-assembly at their destination. Cousin Margaret fascinated me with her delightful Boston art of speaking, and I thought little Anne the most beautiful creature that ever existed.

Aunt Lou was the actual mistress of Mattapany. She spent her summers there, looked after the place for her brother, and was responsible for uniting many of the Thomas tribe. She was strict and had decided ideas and opinions; but she was loved by all, was reasonable, and I do not remember her ever having taken punitive measures against the younger generation, no matter how such action might have been deserved. Aunt Lou was a wonderful story-teller and a mimic. She loved the wide variety of birds and could imitate all their calls. Her expert imitation of voices made her conversation lively and amusing.

The hero among my cousins at Mattapany was George Calvert. He was older than the rest of us, unusually handsome, carefree, and could do anything and everything better than we. An example of his admirable qualities that greatly impressed me was the occasion that he killed a snake and, without bothering to wipe the blood from his knife, he calmly peeled himself a peach. But the cousin with whom I was most congenial was Upton. I can recall but one serious disagreement with him. At the time we shared the same bed and, in an effort to ascertain which of us had the greater share of the sheet, the sheet was split nearly its full length. Upton declared that I had torn the sheet, whereas I of course was blameless. The result of this tragic episode had to be reported to Aunt Lou in the morning.

As an exhibition of our endurance, George Calvert, Upton, and I set





out one day to swim from Millstone Landing to Susquehanna Wharf, a distance of only a mile, but we were quite young then. George rapidly took the lead, but he came ashore after swimming two-thirds of the distance; his excuse was that he feared the sea nettles coming out of the creek, but I rather think it was simply laziness. Upton finished with little apparent effort. I, near exhaustion, was ready to give up, but Upton urged me on and I finally made Susquehanna. Upton sensed that my pride would have suffered had I not completed the swim, and I appreciated his encouragement.

At the beginning of each summer season we would scout the beach area for driftwood and build a wharf and, as a separate structure, a diving platform. These engineering efforts required repair after every storm and were dismantled at summer's end. The sea nettles were often a serious problem. When the situation got really bad, we would clear the area for ourselves by scooping the stinging beasts out of the water, one boy directing the operation from the top of the bluff.

There were dogs and cats at Mattapany. Aunt Lou gave one of the dogs, Brownie, to George Tazewell who took the valued pet home with him across the river. Next day Brownie swam the three and one-half miles back to Mattapany. On one of my first visits to Mattapany, I wished to give my favorite kitten an elevator ride in the bucket of the well, but my kitty became frightened and jumped from the bucket and was drowned. In routine manner I reported this event to Aunt Lou, but she seemed unimpressed. But several days later, when it was obvious that kitty was no where to be seen, the well was drained and disinfected, and we had no well water for two weeks. Later the well was covered over and we had a power pump to provide the house with water.

Food was plentiful at Mattapany. There were chickens and vegetable garden, berries, apples, pears, peaches, and figs. Aunt Lou made the most delicious fig preserves! Corn meal was obtained from Great Mills and we had corn bread every day. Another daily treat was clabber, sweet and having a velvety texture, served with brown sugar and nutmeg; this delicious food seems to have disappeared from the American scene. Milk, wonderfully rich, came from the cows on the place, and the butter was churned. Such items were kept cool in the dairy below the house.

The above reminiscences of Mattapany are entirely inadequate, I know. My words cannot give the feeling we had for the old place--one had to be a part of it. Mattapany was a combination of home, tradition, history, and people--wonderful people! John H. Thomas died in 1931 and Mattapany died with him. With the changing times, it was no longer possible or practical for the Thomas family to hold on to Mattapany. For purpose of record, I give below the first four of the eleven terms of

#### AGREEMENT OF SALE OF "MATTAPANY"

AGREEMENT, dated the xx day of March, 1932 between MARGARET H. THOMAS as Executrix of the Estate of John H. Thomas, deceased, party of the first part, hereinafter called the "Seller", and GEORGE A. WESCHLER, of Washington, D. C., party of the second part, hereinafter called the Purchaser.

1. The Seller, by virtue of the power and authority on her conferred in and by the Last Will and Testament of the said John H. Thomas, which was admitted to probate in the Orphans' Court, St. Mary's County, Maryland, on or about the 23rd day of February, 1932, hereby agrees to sell unto the Purchaser, and the Purchaser hereby agrees to purchase from the Seller ALL that tract of land, property and premises situated in the





eighth election district of St. Mary's County in the State of Maryland, bordering on the Patuxent River, and known as "Mattapany" and "Millstone Landing"; said "Mattapany" being a farm containing about six hundred acres of land and improved with a residence and other buildings; and said "Millstone Landing" being a portion of said tract of land fronting upon the Patuxent River, together with a boat landing and steamboat wharf extending therefrom into said River.

TOGETHER with the improvements thereon and the easements, ways, rights, privileges and appurtenances thereunto belonging, being and intended to be the same premises which were conveyed to the late John H. Thomas, by Duke Bond, Trustee, by deed, dated November 7th, 1913, and recorded in the office of the Register of Wills of St. Mary's County in Liber E.B.A. No. 12 folio 121.

2. There is included in this sale the furniture and fixtures contained and ordinarily used in the outbuildings on the property and also such farm machinery and farm implements as belonging to the Seller, if any, and a Ford car; but not any contents of the principal homestead or residence, or the cattle, hogs, chickens or other animals or gathered crops.

3. The Seller shall be allowed thirty days after the delivery of the deed hereunder, within which to remove the personal property and effects not included in this sale, and in the event of their failure so to do, the same shall become the property of the Purchaser. It is understood that the caretaker, named Kirby, occupies with his family a house near the principal residence and the cook, a colored woman named Louisa Dyson, occupies a building some considerable distance away, and that they may have thirty days after the delivery of the deed within which to vacate said premises.

4. The sale is made subject to the terms of the existing agreement with Mr. E. A. Bell, the farmer who operates the farm on shares.

HISTORIC MATTAPANY ACQUIRED BY D.C. MAN announced the sale in the May 1, 1932 *Washington Sunday Star*, together with photo of the mansion, which I reproduce on next page, simply because it shows entrance to the dairy. The article reads, in part:

Sale of Mattapany, one of the most historic estates in Southern Maryland, the house on which is shown above, was announced today.

The new owner is George A. Weschler, consulting engineer of Washington, who purchased the 600-acre estate from Mrs. Margaret Hale Thomas of Boston.

Mattapany is located on the Patuxent River, about 20 miles below Leonardtown. The estate takes its name from the Mattapien Indians, who occupied St. Marys County prior to the English colonization.

A tract of 2,000 acres, including the present location of Mattapany, was given Father Andrew White, a Jesuit missionary, by the Indians. This site was developed by the Jesuits with a mission and store house. In 1641 the Lord Proprietary of the Province, becoming alarmed at the amount of land in Jesuit ownership, forced them to deed all the lands they held, including Mattapany, to the province.

In 1661 the Proprietary gave 1,200 acres at Mattapany "with the rights of a manor", to Henry Sewall, secretary of the province. . . . [portion of the article is missing] . . . about 250 yards south of the present structure, which was built in 1827.

Charles Calvert's house was apparently fortified, for, in 1682, the provincial council passed an act establishing a guard at Mattapany "for the defense of the Right Hon. Lord Proprietary, and with him the magazine and military stores there".









*Mattapany* protected more than the Calverts, for during the Protestant Revolution the deputies were driven from the capital at St. Marys City and took refuge there. It was at *Mattapany* on August 1, 1689, that the formal articles of surrender were signed and the province thereby turned over to the revolutionists.

*Mattapany* was again touched by the spotlight of history almost 200 years later, when the three sons of Jane Armstrong Thomas, a descendant of Henry Sewall [!], became heroes of several exploits as sympathizers with the Confederate cause during the Civil War. . . .

The estate includes Millstone Landing, known to many patrons of the steamboat line that formerly plied between Baltimore and Washington. Present improvements consist of the brick manor house, shaded on the south by very old mahogany and fig trees, with lilac bordered lawn stretching to the river bank on the north; a caretaker's house; a house occupied by the tenant who farms the 300 acres under cultivation; a third small house and numerous outbuildings.

As consulting engineer for the Rockefeller restoration of Williamsburg, Va., Mr. Weschler is eminently qualified to develop the possibilities of *Mattapany*.

MAKING WAY FOR MARS is the title of an article written by Katherine Scarborough for the *Baltimore Sunday Sun* ten years later, in 1942, with the comment that it "has been approved for publication by the Navy". A portion of this article follows:

Deep down in St. Mary's county where the Patuxent river meets the Chesapeake Bay at Cedar Point, war is engraving a new image on a countryside where time has stood still for almost three centuries. [We must overlook the inference that time stood still where there were Thomases.]

Approximately 110 pieces of property, embracing some of the first





manors laid out in Maryland as well as the cottage of Helen Hayes, one of America's top-ranking actresses, and summer places belonging to wealthy newcomers, are contained in the large tract of land bordering the river and bay and which the Government is taking by condemnation for a new naval air base which will be of value to Baltimore, Annapolis, and the nation's Capital. Already the steam shovels of Baltimore contracting firms are at work, producing new contours to replace the ancient tobacco fields, the country roads along which, until a few days ago, the lowly ox moved with his burden, . . .

Virtually all the buildings in the area will be razed. The old will go down with the new and, when the work of demolition has been completed, construction crews will move in to erect in their stead barracks and hangars, shops and runways, together with other appurtenances necessary to the project. . . .

Lying in the area which has been taken over by the Government are several of Maryland's oldest and most historic plantations. Here and there, standing on bluffs overlooking the river and bay, are several survivors of the State's first manor houses which will go down to the dust in the interests of Mars. In the immediate neighborhood are places like Long Lane Farm . . . the house virtually unchanged since it was built in the seventeenth century by a Frenchman whose name was Jarboe; Cross Manor, traditionally known as the oldest brick house in Maryland; Mulberry Fields, one of the handsomest of the ancient keeps in St. Mary's; and Porto Bello, named to commemorate the part played by young Edwin Coad, its builder, in the West Indian campaign which also left lasting impress in the name of Mount Vernon.

Most significant, historically, of all the estates involved in the project is Mattapany, scene of the capitulation, in 1689, of Lord Baltimore's government to John Coode and the other leaders of the Protestant Revolution in Maryland. At the time the first settlers landed, Mattapany was the site of an Indian village, occupied by the Mattapients. Soon afterward it became the scene of missionary activities conducted by the Jesuits, who, however, deeded it back, in 1637, to Lord Baltimore.

Some years later Charles, the third Lord Baltimore, in an outburst of generosity, turned the tract over as a gift to his secretary, Henry Sewall, of London, whose wife had been the beautiful Jane Lowe. Sewall, with his wife and three children, came from England to Maryland on the same ship which brought Lord Baltimore, then a widower, to the New World. At St. Mary's his lordship set up housekeeping in great magnificence in his "Palace of St. John's", but he paid numerous visits to Mattapany.

Within a year after their arrival in Maryland, Sewall obligingly died, and at the end of her short period of mourning, Lord Baltimore married the widow. To provide a suitable frame for her beauty, he built a new house, "commodious and pleasant", with rooms for the meeting of his Lordship's Council, the Colonial Militia, the General Assembly, and for the pursuit of such business as the issuance of a commission for the Land Office and Register in the Province.

Subsequently, during the absence of his Lordship in England, disgruntled elements among the population rose in force. The commissioners whom Charles had left in charge of the government were forced to flee from St. Mary's and took refuge in the garrison at Mattapany, pursued by the rebels whose commander "sent forward a trumpet" with a demand for surrender. Greatly outnumbered and urged by Michael Taney, high sheriff of Calvert county, "to prevent Effusion of blood", the president and council capitulated and "the tragick comedy of rebellion" was over.

The house and plantation, shortly afterward, were granted to Major Nicholas Sewall, Lord Baltimore's stepson. In the course of time the house, which stood about 250 yards south of the present dwelling, fell





into ruin and in 1837 the present structure was built to replace it. Luckily, it will be preserved. Arrangements to restore it which had been begun by George Weschler, of Washington, its most recent owner, will be carried out by the Government with the material already assembled, but precisely what use will be made of it has not been determined.

First of the ancient manor houses to disappear is Susquehanna . . . Ancient St. Richard's Manor . . . will be completely swallowed up by the Cedar Point project. . . . Dana-on-Patuxent . . . also is included. The old Carpenter farms, Stratton . . . and Green Holly, are soon to lose their identity in the big development. In the immediate environs is the somnolent little village known as Pearson's Corner, and close to the tract is the Three-Notch road which marks an old Indian trail. Three hundred years and more of American history are identified with this road, which takes its name from the Colonial custom of blazing on stout oak trees three notches to indicate the way to a ferry or landing, two notches to a courthouse, and one to a church. One of these blazed trees still stands.

No elegy will be written in a country churchyard over the death of this ancient community. The churchyard itself will be obliterated within a few weeks. More than a hundred bodies which lie in the little cemetery adjoining the Methodist Church at Pearson are to be taken up and reburied by the Government and, when the work is complete, a final service will be held in the church. Then it, too, will be destroyed. [End of article.]

MATTAPANY TODAY is the residence of the Commander, Patuxent River Naval Air Test Center. One revisits the old place with mixed feelings; truly now it is an elegant home--but it is not Mattapany.

The surrounding terrain has, of course, changed, but more so than one might expect. The creeks either side of the mansion no longer follow their irregular courses, but are now squared off, as may be observed from the air. The river bluff and "valley" are gone, the north lawn now sloping gently down to the shore. It is well to be able to see the river from the house, but one misses the trees, the shrubs, and fig bushes; what remains is a bare expanse instead of a serene vista and landscape.

The mimosa trees have been removed from the south lawn to make room for a driveway. But otherwise one is pleased in what he sees here. The other trees and the crepe myrtle are the same, except more magnificent. Even the white board fence is the same (or a duplicate replacement). And the old pump house has been allowed to remain.

The three photographs on next page show the place as it is today; these are from the *Washington Sunday Star* of 4 May 1958 on the subject of a garden tour.

A comparison of top photograph and that on page 191 or 198 shows that north portion of roof has been restored to a former lower pitch, and that dormer windows have been added. The shutters have been removed from doorway to second-story porch, breaking the line of matched openings.

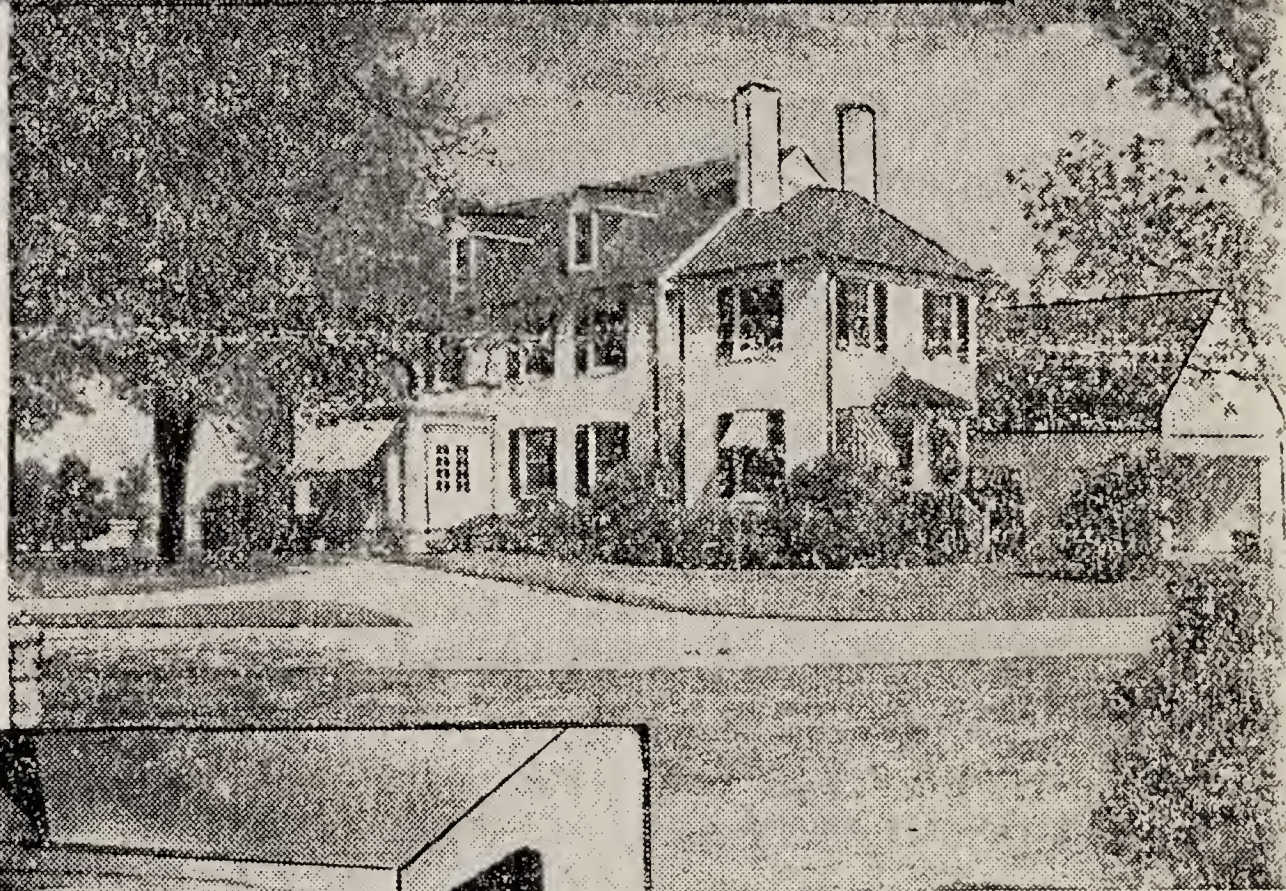
From the middle photograph we see that the old kitchen (see sketch page 188) has been sacrificed to an entirely different structure. The old kitchen, a detached wing, was the oldest-appearing part of the home, the outer walls were of uncovered brick, and even the floor was brick; perhaps it was not adapted to modernization but, architecturally, it added much to the old house, and it is a great shame that at least its outward features were not retained. (Most of the old pictures of Mattapany do not reveal the kitchen because of trees and shrubs.) The new kitchen would look well attached to some other home, but it is absolutely out of character here. In the photograph the building to the right of the kitchen is a garage.

The lower photograph next page is the same view of the central hall-









MATTAPAN

. . . today





way as that pictured on page 189. The most obvious change is the stairway, formerly recessed in doorway (see floor plan page 186), which now is in the hall, and underneath of which are stairs to basement. The sweep of "our" living room is thus broken, but the change is a good one, and the new stairway is more attractive than the limited view in the photograph reveals. A companion arch (to the north, and not visible in the photograph) has been constructed to balance the original one (shown). The handsome carved doors are the originals, and the missing lead arrows have been replaced. The gun closets between hallway and dining room (see floor plan page 186) have vanished (why?). The enclosed bookshelves in music room (page 190) remain. Electricity has replaced oil lamps. An immaculate young Filipino boy has replaced our dutiful Louisa, the cook; he served us the first alcoholic beverage that I'd seen at Mattapany. Another "first" was that one could drive his car directly to the mansion; in former years we always parked outside the gate to preserve the lawn.

The home is beautifully refinished and furnished throughout for gracious modern living. There are many changes upstairs, but one is confused and the changes are difficult to recognize. Where is Aunt Lou's room? Where is the room where Upton tried to take my half of the bed sheet? It is not easy to know what is old and what is new, but it is fairly safe to assume--that most is new.

If one limits his gaze, he can at times feel that he actually is again at Mattapany--but the feeling is unrealistic, as in a dream. The Navy has retained a few features of the old place, but it has so distorted the rest, the true character of Mattapany is now lost.

Perhaps the family should feel gratified that the old home is, in a sense, saved. But, in the true meaning of the words, the Navy has neither restored nor preserved Mattapany.





Zarvona was truly a remarkable man! But why is he not better known today? His brother, James William Thomas, gave one explanation: "During his long imprisonment the enthusiasm caused by his daring act in sixty-one had died out. Heavy blows had made many heroes, and Zarvona found himself, save for a few earnest friends such as Governor Letcher, General French and others, alone". Historians make a great point of "firsts"--and Zarvona's prize, the *Saint Nicholas*, flew the first U.S. flag captured by the Confederacy in the Civil War. Further, his life included all those essentials that stimulate the imagination of those who enjoy a good story: glamour, success, failure, courage, trickery, hate, respect, loyalty, piracy, daring, traitor, humor, tragedy, excitement. Historian Newman has stated that "if Zarvona had been a New Englander or a Virginian, every school boy and girl would know about him".

A personality lives in history, not only because of his or her attainments, but sometimes by promotion, sometimes by accident. New England has so promoted Plymouth Rock and 1620 that often Jamestown in 1607 is overlooked. Virginia honors its Lee and Jackson, not only because they were great, but because they were Virginians. Betsy Ross and Barbara Fritchie may be said to have survived "by accident". Zarvona was a Marylander but, in the strict sense, he did not fight for his state. The State of Maryland has done little to promote any of its men of history, including the Calverts. Although the sympathies of the people of Maryland were divided, the greater majority even favoring the South, Maryland did not secede from the Union and, in the Northern press of his day, Zarvona was sometimes termed a traitor. In Zarvona's own words: "It is terrible to see Maryland in her present condition--she has a great crime to answer for . . . I work for principles not boundaries".

It is unfortunate that there are many details of Zarvona's life which will be forever lost. Those who knew him best, both family and friends, wrote of him; historians, newspaper accounts, and on-the-scene witnesses tell their stories, but there are many important omissions about which we shall never know. But the avenues for further inquiry and research are not exhausted, and it is hoped that more about Zarvona may be discovered beyond the material given here.

Governor Letcher's article on Zarvona given on pages 3-5 is particularly valuable in that the Governor was a close friend of Zarvona in addition to his holding responsible office wherein he was in the position to know pertinent facts. Further comment on this article has been given on pages 109, 110. The Governor's grandson, Brig. Gen. John S. Letcher, now of Lexington, Virginia, seemed a likely source for further information. The General wrote me a most warm letter, but had nothing in addition to contribute. The Yankee Gen. David Hunter ordered the destruction of V.M.I., the Governor's home, and many other peaceful homes in 1864, and all the Governor's papers were destroyed at that time. General Letcher gave me the name of a grandson of G. Bassett French (see page 109) of Midlothian, Virginia, but I received no answer from my letter to him.

My letter to the Italian Information Center in New York was promptly





answered: "We have checked in our books on Garibaldi and on volunteers of Garibaldi's campaigns, but we could not find the name Richard Thomas Zarvona". It was suggested that I write Associazione Nazionale Veterani e Reduci Garibaldini in Rome. I did so, but over a year has elapsed, and I have received no response.

A letter written at about the same time to the Louisiana Historical Society also remains unanswered. I had written "concerning the piece of Yankee flag you have in your possession, such as its size, if you actually exhibit it, descriptive comments regarding same, etc." Of interest for inclusion here is the information I sent to the Society of a clipping from the "Confederate Veteran" of unknown date, under the heading LOUISIANA HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, by Gen. J. A. Chalaron. It reads in part:

"The regular meeting of this Association was held July 5, 1899, eleven members being present. The Custodian's report . . . the relics and documents recently presented by Mrs. Varina Jefferson Davis to the Association. . . . With gracious words Mrs. Jefferson Davis, with the hearty concurrence of her remaining daughter, Mrs. Margaret Davis Hayes, has sent to our hall a wealth of sacred and valuable relics . . . piece of the first Yankee flag captured in the war between the States, taken from the Steamer St. Nicholas in Chesapeake Bay . . . "

On the following ten pages is reproduced "The Amazing Colonel Zarvona" by Charles A. Earp which appeared in the December 1939 issue of The Maryland Historical Magazine. This most interesting article is given in its entirety because it is extremely well written, is obviously the result of extensive research, and has numerous references in the footnotes.

Following Mr. Earp's article is an account of Zarvona written by James William Thomas, significant because it gives the Colonel's history in the words of his brother.

CHRONOLOGY. Below are given a few reference dates for the purpose of aiding the reader in fitting in the sequence of events in the life of Zarvona.

Born . . . . .	27 Oct. 1833
Admitted to West Point . . . . .	1 July 1850
Letter to "John" . . . . .	26 Apr. 1861
The <i>Saint Nicholas</i> affair . . . . .	28 June 1861
Commissioned Colonel . . . . .	1 July 1861
Arrested, a prisoner at Fort Mcllenry . . . . .	8 July 1861
Sent to Fort Lafayette, in New York harbor . . . . .	2 Dec. 1861
Letter, George Thomas to "Stonewall" Jackson . . . . .	18 Nov. 1862
Letter, Gov. Letcher to Abraham Lincoln . . . . .	2 Jan. 1863
Exchange authorized . . . . .	Apr. 1863
Exchanged as prisoner of war . . . . .	May 1863
Arrived Richmond . . . . .	6 May 1863
Died . . . . .	17 Mar. 1875





## THE AMAZING COLONEL ZARVONA

By CHARLES A. EARP

Richard Thomas of Mattapany believed in "living dangerously." This unusual man, gentleman adventurer and professional soldier, wandered to the far corners of the earth and yet found his moment of fame on the nearby waters of the Potomac not far from his ancestral home. Although he was a member of one of the best known families of Southern Maryland, son of a speaker of the house of delegates and nephew of an ex-governor, the early years of Thomas' life are dimmed in the half light of rumor and family reminiscence and only the most meagre details are known. Born in Saint Mary's County on October 27, 1833, young Thomas attended school at Charlotte Hall there and at Oxford on the Eastern Shore and was also a cadet at the United States Military Academy for a short time. But he seems to have been a wanderer at heart and, soon succumbing to the call of distant places, worked awhile as a surveyor on the western frontier. He next turned up in the Far East and there participated in the campaigns against the Chinese pirates who were terrorizing oriental waters. From Asia, Thomas drifted across to Europe where he fought under Garibaldi during the great struggle for national independence in Italy and here, it appears, he first adopted the name Zarvona by which he was to be known in later life.<sup>1</sup>

Being an ardent Southern sympathizer, Thomas, or Zarvona as we shall call him, returned to America just before the Civil War to serve the Southern cause and at the outbreak of hostilities suggested fitting out a swift light boat for the Confederate service with which he proposed to prey upon Northern vessels on the Chesapeake.<sup>2</sup> It is not surprising, therefore, to find him prominently connected with one of the most daring feats of the early part of the war, the capture of the bay steamer *Saint Nicholas*, a 1,200 ton side wheeler, running between Baltimore and Georgetown, D. C.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Baltimore Sun*, July 9, 1861; Henry Hyde in *Baltimore Evening Sun*, May 23, 1928. I am indebted to members of the Thomas family for securing for me the exact date of Zarvona's birth from the family Bible as well as other valuable information concerning the Colonel. Particular thanks are due Miss Louisa Thomas, Mr. Tazewell T. Thomas and, for general assistance, Mrs. Maria Briscoe Croker.

<sup>2</sup> R. to John, April 26, 1861, *The War of the Rebellion, a Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, Washington, 1880-1901, Series II, Vol. 2, p. 400 (cited as O. R.)

<sup>3</sup> J. T. Scharf, *History of the Confederate States Navy*, New York, 1887, p. 114 (cited as Scharf).





There is some doubt as to the exact origin of the plan, for three men: Zarvona, George N. Hollins of Maryland, a captain in the Confederate navy, and H. H. Lewis, another naval officer, appear to have some claim for its conception.<sup>4</sup> At any rate the basis of the scheme was daring in the extreme. It was proposed to secrete a band of carefully disguised volunteers on board the *Saint Nicholas*, overpower her crew at a strategic moment and take command of the vessel. Then by a quick trip to the Coan river on the Virginia shore the little force was to be augmented by a detachment of Confederate infantry. The *Saint Nicholas*, it appears, frequently transferred supplies to the United States warship *Pawnee*, a vessel of the federal squadron which patrolled the Chesapeake Bay. Consequently the final step in the plan was to range alongside the *Pawnee* as usual, throw an armed force on board and capture the vessel for the Confederacy by a surprise stroke before the federals became aware of the ruse.<sup>5</sup>

As the aid of a strong infantry force was highly desirable for the successful execution of this latter maneuver, an application was made to General Theophilus Holmes, commanding the Confederate forces at Fredericksburg, for the cooperation of a part of his command. General Holmes disapproved of what he considered to be a wild scheme and felt "that success would be miraculous." Nevertheless by express order of the Secretary of War, who favored the enterprise, Holmes detailed Colonel Bates' Tennessee regiment to cooperate with the movement at Coan river (probably in case the *Saint Nicholas* was pursued) but this force was strictly forbidden to take any part in the expedition on the water.<sup>6</sup>

Governor Letcher of Virginia was more enthusiastic, however, and supported the plan vigorously. He issued a draft for \$1,000 to purchase arms and supplies in the North and selected Zarvona as agent for this purpose. According to Captain Hollins' own statement he was placed in command of the expedition, which was to be carried out under his direction, Zarvona, it appears, acting as a sort of second in command. Lieutenant Lewis was recalled from duty on the lower Rappahannock, informed of his part in the enterprise and stationed with the Tennesseans. Then a small group of volunteers who had

<sup>4</sup> Governor Letcher to President Lincoln, Jan. 2, 1863, *O. R.*, II, 2, 401; Extracts from notes by Commander George N. Hollins, C. S. Navy, n. d. (cited as Hollins) in *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion*, Series I, Vol. 4, p. 553 (cited as *O. R. N.*); Scharf papers; L. P. Walker, Secretary of War, to General T. H. Holmes, June 25, 1861, *O. R. N.*, I, 4, 551.

<sup>5</sup> Hollins, *O. R. N.*, I, 4, 553; James D. McCabe, Jr., *History of the War between the States (1861-2)*, unpublished MS. dated Vicksburg, 1862, p. 256; Scharf, p. 111.

<sup>6</sup> See correspondence between General Holmes and the Secretary of War, *O. R. N.*, I, 4, 551-3.





been enlisted for the scheme crossed over quietly into Southern Maryland; Zarvona took the Patuxent boat and proceeded on to Philadelphia where he purchased the necessary arms for the expedition. Returning secretly to Baltimore, he gathered about him a little band of loyal followers and made his final arrangements for the coup.<sup>7</sup>

The *Saint Nicholas* left Baltimore on the afternoon of June 28, 1861, on her regular run, laden with freight for Saint Mary's and Charles counties and Washington City. She also had on board a number of passengers bound for the various landings along the Maryland shore of the Potomac river.<sup>8</sup> Among those booking passage at Baltimore was a "French lady" of dark complexion and rather masculine features<sup>9</sup> who included in her baggage several large high trunks such as were used by milliners at that time.<sup>10</sup> According to one witness the "French lady" played her part to perfection, tossing her fan about and even coquetting with a federal officer who was among the passengers and no suspicions were aroused.<sup>11</sup> A number of rather common-place looking passengers seemed to be watching the "French lady" with some interest especially when the *Saint Nicholas* stopped at Point Lookout, Maryland where the Potomac meets the Bay. Here several men came aboard, among them an elderly looking individual and a young Marylander named Alexander; all booked passage for Washington City.<sup>12</sup>

Soon the "French lady" excused herself and disappeared into her stateroom.<sup>13</sup> Several minutes passed and the *Saint Nicholas*, making up the river, drew further and further away from the Point Lookout dock. A group of male passengers, including those who had boarded at Point Lookout, lounged about the deck and seemed uninterested in retiring although by this time it was considerably after midnight.<sup>14</sup> Then there suddenly emerged from the cabin of the "French lady" none other than Zarvona himself clad in the full uniform of a Confederate Zouave and armed with a cutlass and revolver.<sup>15</sup> Quick orders were given and the loungers on the deck

<sup>7</sup> Hollins, *O. R. N.*, I, 4, 553-4; Scharf, pp. 112-3.

<sup>8</sup> Charles Worthington to Gideon Welles, Secretary of the Navy, July 1, 1861, *O. R. N.*, I, 4, 550. Worthington was the agent for the Baltimore and Washington Steamship Line, Scharf, p. 117.

<sup>9</sup> *Baltimore Daily Exchange*, July 2, 1861.

<sup>10</sup> Hollins, *O. R. N.*, I, 4, 554; McCabe, p. 257.

<sup>11</sup> Statement of Lieutenant George Alexander quoted in Scharf, p. 115.

<sup>12</sup> Hollins, *O. R. N.*, I, 4, 554; Statement of Alexander quoted in Scharf, p. 115. McCabe states that Alexander "recognized" the "French lady" as an old acquaintance from Paris and that they at once became engaged in an earnest conversation in French. McCabe, p. 257.

<sup>13</sup> Statement of Alexander quoted in Scharf, p. 115.

<sup>14</sup> McCabe, p. 257; Hollins, *O. R. N.*, I, 4, 554.

<sup>15</sup> Statement of Alexander quoted in Scharf, p. 115; *Daily Exchange*, July 2, 1861.





rushed into his cabin where they supplied themselves with weapons from the milliner's trunks of the "French lady."<sup>16</sup> The elderly looking man, who turned out to be Captain Hollins, armed himself with a Sharp's rifle and a pair of pistols, raced up to the wheelhouse and informed the captain that his ship was in Confederate hands.<sup>17</sup> The officers and crew of the *Saint Nicholas* were taken completely by surprise and, as Lieutenant Alexander put it, "In a few minutes we overpowered the passengers and crew, secured them below the hatches, and the boat was ours."<sup>18</sup>

All lights were then extinguished and the *Saint Nicholas*, under command of Captain Hollins, was headed at full speed for the Virginia shore, arriving at Coan river landing at 3:30 in the morning. Here she was met after some delay by Lieutenant Lewis and a detachment consisting of the Tennessee infantry and a few volunteers from the Confederate navy.<sup>19</sup> Although they could expect no further aid from the Tennesseans, who were under strict orders not to board the *Saint Nicholas* for an expedition, the little band of volunteers who had originally seized the vessel decided to carry out their original plan and capture the *Pawnee*. However, it was learned through the Baltimore papers that the *Pawnee* had steamed up to Washington City to attend the funeral of a federal officer killed in the recent attack on Mathias Point and consequently the latter part of the plan had to be abandoned.<sup>20</sup>

The passengers who so desired were allowed to go ashore at Coan river, the little band was augmented by the naval volunteers, and the *Saint Nicholas* was headed out into the bay and proceeded for Fredericksburg.<sup>21</sup> But the adventure was not yet over. Soon another boat loomed up in the darkness and proved to be the brig *Monticello* bound to Baltimore from Rio de Janeiro with a cargo of coffee. She was immediately captured and on board were found the official dispatches from the U. S. squadron off Brazil which were turned over to the Confederate authorities. A short time later the schooner *Mary*

<sup>16</sup> Statement of Alexander quoted in Scharf, p. 115; Hollins, *O. R. N.*, I, 4, 554.

<sup>17</sup> Hollins, *O. R. N.*, I, 4, 554.

<sup>18</sup> Statement of Alexander quoted in Scharf, p. 115. Approximately one-third of the forty-six Southerners participating in this affair were Maryland Zouaves. They included: Colonel R. Thomas of Richard (Zarvona), commanding; George H. Alexander, F. Gibson, lieutenants; Fred H. Hollins, George N. Hollins, Jr., William O'Keefe, William Powers, R. Fellon, Francis Duffin, Joseph Thompson, G. H. Frazier, John Daley, George Watts, John Brown, James Laughlin, Richard Fuller, Samuel Tatem, privates. See *O. R. N.*, I, 4, 555.

<sup>19</sup> Hollins, *O. R. N.*, I, 4, 554; Scharf, p. 115.

<sup>20</sup> Hollins, *O. R. N.*, I, 4, 554; McCabe, p. 258.

<sup>21</sup> Hollins, *O. R. N.*, I, 4, 554. See *O. R. N.*, I, 4, 555 for complete list of those participating. According to this official roster the Tennessee infantry did not sail on the *Saint Nicholas*.





*Pierce* carrying ice to Washington City was also taken and the precious cargo, selling for \$8,000, was put to good use in the southern hospitals. Finally a third vessel, the *Margaret*, loaded with coal, was overhauled and seized, this being a most fortunate capture as the coal aboard the *Saint Nicholas* was running dangerously low. She was quickly refueled from this supply, however, and then proceeded on to Fredericksburg with her prizes.<sup>22</sup>

The daring crew of volunteers was received in Fredericksburg with full military honors<sup>23</sup> and Zarvona was commissioned under that name as a colonel in the volunteer forces of Virginia by the convention of the state.<sup>24</sup> He was royally entertained in Richmond and Scharf tells this amusing—if perhaps somewhat overcolored—story about his visit. It seems that the Colonel's friends insisted on seeing him dressed in his role as the "French lady." He consented with the understanding that the joke was to be strictly private but while he was out of the room preparing his costume, a lady entered much to the consternation of the group, and took her place among them. She was treated with politeness but left to herself as the embarrassed gentlemen tried to find some way of getting rid of her before Zarvona should return. Then at the psychological moment the Lady lifted her skirts and revealed a pair of officers boots and the tip of a sword. It was the Colonel himself who had turned the trick very neatly and, as Scharf says, "The effect may be imagined!"<sup>25</sup>

Spurred on by the success of the *Saint Nicholas* affair, Zarvona was consumed with desire to repeat it and, securing permission from Governor Letcher to attempt another exploit of the same type,<sup>26</sup> he set out in a schooner early in July for Maryland waters. As can well be imagined the capture of the *Saint Nicholas* had caused much

<sup>22</sup> The *Saint Nicholas* was purchased by the Confederate government and converted into a gunboat. On the capture of the prizes see Hollins, *O. R. N.*, I, 4, 554-5; Scharf, p. 116; *Baltimore American*, July 3, 1861. There occurred in later years a controversy as to whom belonged the credit for this affair, Captain Hollins writing a long statement after the war wherein he claimed that honor for himself. Apparently Hollins, a naval officer and the senior member of the party, was directing activities but it seems clear that Zarvona was the "key man" in the execution of the coup. See "Autobiography of Commodore George N. Hollins," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, Sept., 1939. It is partly to throw further light on this controversy and partly because additional material has been discovered in other sources that the incident is retold here in detail.

<sup>23</sup> *Baltimore Daily Exchange*, July 2, 1861.

<sup>24</sup> The commission and papers discovered on Zarvona at the time of his subsequent capture are to be found in *O. R.*, II, 2, 399.

<sup>25</sup> Scharf, p. 117.

<sup>26</sup> Governor Letcher to G. W. Randolph, Secretary of War, June 20, 1862, *O. R.*, II, 4, 781; Governor Letcher to President Lincoln, Jan. 2, 1863, *O. R.*, II, 2, 401. The exact nature of the plan will never be known although it is probable that Zarvona intended to secrete himself on another steamer (perhaps the *Columbia* or *George Weems* of Baltimore), plan a junction with his armed vessel somewhere down the bay, and seize the unsuspecting ship.





consternation among the federals<sup>27</sup> and the rumor was quickly spread that the "French lady" was again in the State secretly planning another expedition.<sup>28</sup> A federal patrol boat scoured the Bay in search of him but to no avail.<sup>29</sup> On July 9th, John R. Kenly, provost-marshal of Baltimore, ordered the steamer *Chester* to be fitted out at Fort McHenry with several cannon, a detachment of federal troops and a posse of local police for the purpose of capturing Zarvona and his colleagues who were thought to be somewhere in the vicinity of the Chester river on a sailing vessel called the *Georgiana*.<sup>30</sup>

Fate works in strange ways, however, and it was not this well armed expedition but two members of the Baltimore police force, John Horner and Lieutenant Thomas H. Carmichael, who finally located the elusive Colonel Zarvona. They had been sent to Fair Haven in Anne Arundel county to arrest one Neale Green, a well known Baltimore barber, for alleged participation in the attack on the Sixth Massachusetts regiment which had recently passed through the city. After securing their prisoner, Carmichael and Horner had boarded the steamer *Mary Washington* bound for Baltimore. The boat was scarcely under way before Lieutenant Carmichael learned to his utter amazement that the much sought after "French lady" was himself on the *Mary Washington* in disguise along with a number of his men. Zarvona's comrades had remonstrated with him for his rashness in going to Baltimore so soon after the *Saint Nicholas* affair, but the daring Colonel was determined to carry out his plans and, rather than have possible harm befall him alone, a group of his friends had accompanied him on the steamer.<sup>31</sup>

Lieutenant Carmichael immediately ordered the captain of the *Mary Washington* to direct his course to Fort McHenry and land

<sup>27</sup> J. P. K. Mygatt, Acting Lieutenant *U. S. S. Reliance* to R. B. Lowry, Lieutenant commanding *U. S. S. Freeborn*, June 30, 1861, *O. R. N.*, I, 4, 549-50.

<sup>28</sup> *Baltimore American, Sun*, July, *passim*.

<sup>29</sup> R. B. Lowry, Lieutenant commanding *U. S. S. Freeborn* to Commander S. C. Rowan, *U. S. S. Pawnee*, July 10, 1861, *O. R. N.*, I, 4, 572.

<sup>30</sup> *Baltimore American*, July 9, 10, 1861; *Baltimore Sun*, July 9, 10, 1861; Commander, *U. S. S. Pocahontas* to Commander, *U. S. S. Pawnee*, July 9, 1861, *O. R. N.*, I, 4, 569-70; Commander, *U. S. S. Penguin* to Flag Officer Stringham, Atlantic Blockading Squadron, July 11, 1861, *O. R. N.*, I, 5, 785. The *Chester* did not get off until the day following Zarvona's capture and those aboard the *Georgiana*, learning of the fate of their colonel, had fled. The *Georgiana* was discovered several days later abandoned at the mouth of the Chester river and was subsequently brought up to Baltimore. *Baltimore American*, July 13, 1861; *Baltimore Sun*, July 11, 15, 1861; Robert Williams, A. A. G. Department of Annapolis, to Col. E. D. Townsend, A. A. G. War Department, July 14, 1861, *O. R.*, I, 2, 740.

<sup>31</sup> *Baltimore American*, July 9, 10, 1861; *Baltimore Sun*, July 9, 1861. No satisfactory account exists on the capture of Zarvona. The only information available is that appearing in the Baltimore newspapers of the time but this material is presented for what it is worth.





his passengers there instead of at the regular dock. The Colonel grew suspicious and, approaching Carmichael, demanded to know by whose authority the vessel had been diverted from its customary course, Carmichael replying that the steamer's route had been altered by police orders. Then according to an account by one of the passengers a most dramatic scene ensued. Zarvona gathered his men about him and, drawing a pistol, threatened to seize Carmichael and Horner and throw them overboard. As the women ran screaming from the cabin, the police officers also presented their weapons and, backed up by a number of the male passengers, forced the Southerners to surrender.

On arriving at Fort McHenry one of the officers reported to General Banks commanding at that place who immediately ordered a company of infantry to the boat. The suspects were all put under arrest with the exception of Colonel Zarvona who had somehow made his escape and disappeared. After an extended search he was finally found concealed in a large bureau in the ladies' cabin,<sup>82</sup> was taken without resistance and placed in close confinement at Fort McHenry. Among Zarvona's baggage was found his Zouave uniform, his commission as colonel in the armed forces of Virginia and other papers, including a letter of credit on a prominent Baltimore business house.<sup>83</sup>

Zarvona's capture caused much comment and he was confined at Baltimore for piracy but was later indicted in the United States Court for the District of Maryland on a charge of treason only, and was retained in custody as a political prisoner of the Department of State.<sup>84</sup> The Colonel was considered such an important prisoner that a number of witnesses in the case against him (several members of the crew of the *Saint Nicholas*) were held as prisoners at Fort McHenry for almost two years awaiting the trial which never took place.<sup>85</sup> While Zarvona was confined at the fort, General Dix, then in command, wrote to General McClellan that among his prisoners was

. . . the celebrated Thomas or Colonel Zarvona, commonly known as the French lady. He is of one of the first families in Maryland; is rich, intelligent and resolute. His nervous system is much broken by confinement and want of

<sup>82</sup> It was stated that at the time of his capture Colonel Zarvona was clad in feminine attire. See Townsend to Stanton, Secretary of War, Feb. 10, 1863, *O. R.*, II, 2, 404. The charge is denied in Scharf, p. 121.

<sup>83</sup> *Baltimore American*, July 9, 1861. A somewhat different version of Zarvona's capture appeared in the *Baltimore Sun* for July 9, 1861; it agrees with the *American's* account, however, concerning the main outline of the event.

<sup>84</sup> Dix to Stanton, Feb. 20, 1862, *O. R.*, II, 2, 390; Extract from record book, State Department, 'Arrests for Disloyalty,' *O. R.*, II, 2, 379.

<sup>85</sup> See *O. R.*, II, 2, 381-9, 408-9.





active occupation and he has made earnest appeals to me for the privilege of walking about the garrison within the walls on his parole of honor not to attempt to escape. There is no doubt it would be sacredly respected. . . .<sup>36</sup>

This request brought no satisfaction, however, and the prisoner was finally transferred to Fort Lafayette in New York harbor in the custody of Major D. P. DeWitt of the Second Maryland (Union) Infantry.<sup>37</sup> From here Zarvona made repeated appeals for parole on account of his health but in vain.<sup>38</sup> No action was taken and a short time later the prisoner was placed in strict confinement for allegedly corresponding with friends outside by means of some mysterious and secret cipher.<sup>39</sup> Yet the Colonel was not a man to give up easily even in the face of such diversities and one night in April of 1862, in the midst of a high wind and a raging storm, he made a spectacular attempt to escape. He gained the sea wall, eluded his guard, and, plunging into the choppy waters of the harbor, struck out in the darkness for the distant Long Island shore. A boat was hastily lowered and the prisoner was overtaken after a short pursuit and returned dripping but undaunted to his cell.<sup>40</sup> According to Scharf's account Zarvona was unable to swim but managed somehow to fashion an ingenious life belt by corking up a number of tin cans and suspending them around his waist by a cord.<sup>41</sup> As a result of this misadventure, the "French lady" was placed in still more rigid confinement and was allowed no visitors, even the special pass issued to his mother being revoked.<sup>42</sup>

The rumor was circulated that the rigor of his close imprisonment had impaired the Colonel's health both mentally and physically<sup>43</sup> and in January, 1863, the Senate of the United States passed a resolution to examine his case and determine if relief could not be extended.<sup>44</sup> It was reported as a result that the severity of his confinement was necessitated by his attempt to escape. A federal army surgeon also examined him at this time, declared his physical condi-

<sup>36</sup> Dix to McClellan, Sept. 5, 1861, *O. R.*, II, 2, 381.

<sup>37</sup> D. T. Van Buren, by order of Major General Dix, to Lt. Col. Martin Burke, commanding at Fort Lafayette, Dec. 2, 1861, *O. R.*, II, 2, 165.

<sup>38</sup> Zarvona to William H. Seward, Secretary of State, Dec. 22, 1861, Jan. 9, 1862, *O. R.*, II, 2, 386-7.

<sup>39</sup> E. D. Townsend to General L. Thomas, Feb. 27, 1862, *O. R.*, II, 2, 394; Lt. Col. Burke to General Thomas, March 5, 1862, *O. R.*, II, 2, 395; Thomas to Burke, Feb. 28, 1862, *O. R.*, II, 2, 394.

<sup>40</sup> See account by a fellow prisoner, *O. R.*, II, 4, 775; statement of federal officers, *O. R.*, II, 2, 396-7.

<sup>41</sup> Scharf, p. 121.

<sup>42</sup> *O. R.*, II, 2, 394-5, 397-8.

<sup>43</sup> See *O. R.*, II, 2, 411-12; II, 4, 774-76 for Confederate accounts of his treatment in prison.

<sup>44</sup> *Congressional Globe*, XXXIII, part I, page 558 (3d sess., 37th Congress, 1862-63).





tion good, and reported him somewhat eccentric in his ideas but perfectly sane and rational.<sup>45</sup>

Meanwhile Zarvona's relatives and the Confederate authorities at Richmond had been making every effort to have him exchanged as a regular prisoner of war.<sup>46</sup> In June, 1862, Governor Letcher had issued a strong note of protest, pointing out that Zarvona had been acting under his orders on an authorized mission for the promotion of the Confederate cause, and further threatening to execute two federal officers of equal rank with the Colonel if any harm should befall him.<sup>47</sup> When no results were forthcoming he followed this up with a special letter to no less a person than President Lincoln himself in which he reviewed Zarvona's case at some length and asked that action be taken. In addition four federal officers and three privates were placed in the Virginia penitentiary under state authority as hostages for Zarvona, destined to suffer the same fate that was meted out to him.<sup>48</sup>

Finally in April 1863, after nearly two years of imprisonment without trial the Colonel's exchange was authorized by Edwin M. Stanton, the Secretary of War, and he was released.<sup>49</sup> The records fail to show any additional information concerning Zarvona and he appears to have played no further part in the war. There is no complete explanation but perhaps in the following letter lies the answer to this sudden ending to his strange career in the service of the Confederacy.

FORT LAFAYETTE, *New York Harbor*, March 24, 1863

Brig. Gen. L. THOMAS

*Adjutant-General, U. S. Army, Washington, D. C.*

SIR: I wrote you some days since in regard to a parole for R. T. Zarvona (the French lady). He now desires me to say that if released he will leave the country and give his parole of honor not to return to the United States or the Confederate States during the war, and that he will not take part in the rebellion. He says he will do this because his health is destroyed by the confinement he has undergone.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

MARTIN BURKE,

*Lieutenant-Colonel Third Artillery, Commanding Post*<sup>50</sup>

<sup>45</sup> See correspondence, *O. R.*, II, 2, 403-6.

<sup>46</sup> Zarvona wrote to Governor Letcher and Secretary of War Benjamin to intercede in his behalf, *O. R.*, II, 2, 411-12. See also letter of his brother Lieutenant George Thomas, 1st Maryland Battalion, to General (Stonewall) Jackson, Nov. 18, 1862, *O. R.*, II, 2, 412-13.

<sup>47</sup> Letcher to G. W. Randolph, Secretary of War, June 20, 1862, *O. R.*, II, 4, 781.

<sup>48</sup> Letcher to President Lincoln, Jan. 2, 1863, *O. R.*, II, 2, 401-3. Letcher says two officers and five privates but see petition of the hostages, *O. R.*, II, 2, 407.

<sup>49</sup> *O. R.*, II, 5, 434, 522. The hostages were paroled early in May so Zarvona must have gained his freedom somewhere around the last of April. See *O. R.*, II, 2, 414-15.

<sup>50</sup> *O. R.*, II, 2, 410.





Thus Richard Thomas, also called Colonel Zarvona and the "French lady," vanished from the history of the Civil War. Practically nothing is known about his later life other than that he returned to Europe and lived in Paris for a number of years. The Colonel appears to have been there during the Franco-Prussian War and, for a man of his temperament, it is not unlikely that he participated in that struggle also. The early '70s found him again in Southern Maryland, his days of adventure and excitement over. He died at Woodberry, the home of his brother, in 1875 and was buried in the old Thomas family burial ground at Deep Falls. The wanderer had returned home, this time to roam no more.<sup>51</sup>

<sup>51</sup> Part of the information on Zarvona's last years was found in the notice of his death appearing in the *Baltimore Sun* for March 26, 1875; part was kindly supplied by members of the Thomas family.

Many of Mr. Earp's references will be found reproduced in full on later pages.

The following article is on file at the Maryland Historical Society. On the first sheet is noted: "Copied from original in possession of Mrs. Thomas Baxter Gresham. Jan. 27, 1923".

By James William Thomas,  
Colonel Zarvona's Brother

Charlotte Hall St. Marys County, Md.  
November 11th, 1900.

#### COLONEL RICHARD THOMAS ZARVONA

was born in St. Mary's County, Maryland, October 27th 1833. He was a son of the Honorable Richard Thomas, who was a brother of Governor James Thomas and served in the Legislature of Maryland from 1826 to 1833 and from 1837 to 1843, being the speaker of the house from 1830 to 1832, and president of the senate from 1837 to 1843. His Mother was Jane Wallace Armstrong of Baltimore.

In early life Colonel Zarvona went to Charlotte Hall Academy, St. Mary's County, Maryland; thence to a private military academy at Oxford, Talbot County, Maryland; and thence to the United States Military





Academy at West Point, New York. He resigned from the last and was engaged for a considerable time in making Government surveys under Colonel Washington in California and Western Territories. Later he went to China and aided in protecting fleets of vessels from the pirates of the Chinese waters.

Aroused by the idea of a people seeking liberty, he went to Italy and joined Garibaldi, where he assumed the name of Zarvona which was afterwards legalized by the Virginia Legislature, and under which he was commissioned July 1st 1861 a Colonel of Virginia forces.

Early in 1861, together with Captain G. W. Alexander (formerly an engineer in the United States Navy), William T. Blakiston, and others, he raised two infantry companies in St. Mary's and Calvert Counties, to be drilled as Zouaves for the Confederate service, and camped them near Cone River in Northumberland County, Virginia.

He planned and effected the capture of the steamboat "St. Nicholas", running between Baltimore and Washington, in June 1861. This was done "under authority, and by expressed orders from the executive" of Virginia. His plan was to take the St. Nicholas, and with her by strategy, to capture the United States steamboat "Pawnee".

Colonel Zarvona went to Baltimore, obtained about a dozen men and, disguised as a "French Lady", took passage on the St. Nicholas for Washington. The men went aboard as laborers going to harvest in lower Maryland. He had ladies' large trunks which contained pistols, sabres, and other military equipment. At Point Lookout, at the mouth of the Potomac River, Commodore Hollins, G. W. Alexander, Tom Blakiston, and others came aboard as previously arranged. He is said to have acted the "French Lady" with much success. After leaving the wharf, when in mid-stream, he threw off his disguise, appeared in full Zouave uniform, armed his men, and took possession of the boat.

It was the duty of the St. Nicholas to meet the Pawnee to deliver the mail, and it was thus Colonel Zarvona expected to board and take possession of her. But her commander having been killed on the trip down, by a shot from one of the Confederate guns stationed at Matthias Point, the Pawnee returned to Washington and his plan was frustrated. Having failed in this, Zarvona turned over the command of the steamer to Commodore Hollins.

In conjunction they captured three vessels (two mailing from Boston), one loaded with ice, one with coffee, and the other with coal. They went up the Rappahannock and delivered the four prizes to the Confederate officer at Fredericksburg.

Colonel Zarvona later returned to Maryland expecting to go to New York to procure arms. His main idea was to get possession of some boat with which to go to sea and effect captures for the Confederacy.

Feeling overconfident that no one on the Patuxent boats would betray him, he took passage openly at Millstone Landing for Baltimore. Unfortunately he was betrayed, and being arrested, was taken to Fort Mchenry July 8th, 1861. Thence he was taken to Fort Lafayette in New York Harbor where he was kept in close, solitary confinement.

He was finally released and exchanged through Governor Letcher, reaching Richmond May 6th, 1863, his nervous system completely broken down by his imprisonment and the treatment he received.

The capture of the St. Nicholas had raised a furor in the North and Stanton, Secretary of War, had Colonel Zarvona put in close confinement and for a long time refused to exchange him. There was serious talk of hanging him as a spy, traitor, pirate, and so forth, but Governor Letcher of Virginia took the matter in his own hands. Having some prisoners captured by the State Forces under General Floyd, he took [cont. page 217]





HEADQUARTERS  
UNITED STATES MILITARY ACADEMY  
WEST POINT, NEW YORK

MALI-A

25 September 1961

Mr. Armstrong Thomas  
U.S. Naval Observatory  
Washington 25, D.C.

Dear Mr. Thomas:

In reply to your recent inquiry, a careful search of our records revealed that Richard Thomas was admitted to the United States Military Academy as a Cadet 1 July 1850 and resigned 21 October 1851. His legal residence upon admission was St. Mary's, St. Mary's County, Maryland, and a Mr. J. H. Thomas of Baltimore, Maryland was listed as his parent or guardian.

In regard to your question as to the personal appearance, and the height and weight of Cadet Thomas, I regret to inform you that the Military Academy for this early period did not make this a matter of record. A careful search of our photographic collection failed to reveal a likeness of Cadet Thomas.

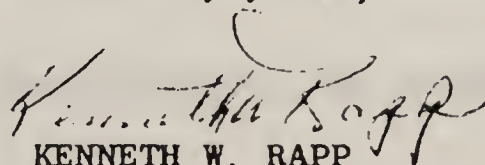
According to the 1851 Official Register of the Officers and Cadets of the United States Military Academy, Cadet Thomas stood No. 55 in a class of 71 members in his Fourth Class Year. His order of merit in each subject was as follows:

Mathematics - Ranked No. 39 in a class of 71 members.  
French - Ranked No. 59 in a class of 71 members.  
English Studies - Ranked No. 50 in a class of 71 members.  
Demerits for the year - 189.

A thorough examination of our records failed to indicate any specific reasons why Cadet Thomas resigned from the Military Academy.

If we can be of any further assistance to you, please do not hesitate to write.

Sincerely yours,

  
KENNETH W. RAPP

Archives Assistant, USMA



DECLASSIFICATION  
SCHEDULE 1 (CLASSIFIED INFORMATION)  
AND 2 (SECRET INFORMATION)

Page 1 of 1

Page 1

1. The following information is classified as SECRET.

2. The following information is classified as SECRET.

3. The following information is classified as SECRET.

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8. The following information is classified as SECRET.

9. The following information is classified as SECRET.

10. The following information is classified as SECRET.

[cont. from page 215] seven of these: one Captain, one Lieutenant, and five claiming to be privates; he placed them in solitary confinement in the penitentiary and informed President Lincoln that he would keep them thus until Colonel Zarvona was exchanged. This brought the United States to terms and Colonel Zarvona was exchanged in May 1863.

During his long imprisonment the enthusiasm caused by his daring act in sixty-one had died out. Heavy blows had made many heroes, and Zarvona found himself, save for a few earnest friends such as Governor Letcher, General French and others, alone.

Too much broken in health to stand service in a subordinate place, with no chance of a command ashore or afloat, he soon went to France and did not return to this country until the war was over. Most of his time thence forward was spent in France.

His later life was full of suffering. He died at the home of his brother, James William Thomas, March 17th, 1875, and was buried in the old Thomas graveyard at "Deep Falls", near Chaptico in St. Mary's County.

The above ends Grandfather's history of Zarvona, but he includes the following: Below I give notices and quotations from "War of the Rebellion Official Records, series 2 volume 2, serial No. 115" bearing on the above, and would especially call attention to letter from Governor Letcher to President Lincoln, and that of W. C. Hall to Governor Letcher. See also "History of the Confederate States Navy" by T. J. Scharff, pages 111-120. These "notices and quotations" are not included in the copy which I have, but Letcher's article which I have reproduced at the beginning of this book is included.

I have mentioned a Mrs. Thomas B. Gresham at the beginning of Grandfather's article. The Greshams and Machens, rather old when I was a young boy, attended Franklin Street Presbyterian Church and were highly thought of by my mother and father. If descendants can be found, there may be letters of Zarvona. Anne Conklin writes "Aunt Emily's aunt was in love with Zarvona and vice versa for years; she took flowers to his grave on the anniversary of his death every year until she died". And from Upton, Jr.: "With regard to Zarvona and Mother's aunts, I remember her telling me that her aunt, Miss Johnston, had been one of the many Baltimore debutantes who was intrigued by Zarvona, and she sent him cakes when he was a prisoner at Ft. McHenry. She was the unmarried one of the pair who brought up my mother after her mother and father died. The other was Mrs. Gresham and they all lived at 815 Park Avenue, Baltimore".

#### THE REBELLION RECORDS

"THE WAR OF THE REBELLION, a Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies" may be found, I understand, in a number of public libraries. The material given on the following pages was taken from Series II, Volumes II, IV, and V, National Archives, Washington. I have arranged the entries, generally, as to date; as such, they tell a dramatic story almost complete within itself. Personal, as well as official, correspondence is included.

For purposes of reference and identification, the addressees and addressors are listed below:





Originators and/or Recipients of the Letters

N. P. BANKS, Maj. Gen., USA, Commanding Department of Annapolis.  
MARTIN BURKE, Lt. Col., USA, Commanding Fort Hamilton, N.Y. Harbor.  
EDWARD B. CUTHBERT, fellow prisoner of Zarvona at Fort Lafayette.  
JOHN A. DIX, Maj. Gen., USA, Headquarters Baltimore, Fort Monroe.  
Hon. G. W. DUNLOP, USA.  
WM. HOFFMAN, Col., USA, Agent for the Exchange of Prisoners.  
T. J. JACKSON, Lt. Gen., CSA = General "Stonewall" Jackson.  
"JOHN", a cousin of Zarvona.  
JOHN LETCHER, Governor of Virginia.  
ABRAHAM LINCOLN, President of the United States.  
WM. H. LUDLOW, Lt. Col., CSA, Commissary General of Prisoners.  
"MADAME" = Mrs. William Douglas Nelson, cousin of Zarvona [not Reb. Rec.]  
Hon. JAMES A. PEARCE, Washington.  
"Prisoners", USA, held in Penitentiary, Richmond, Va.  
"R" = Richard, i.e. Richard Thomas or Zarvona.  
Hon. Mr. (GEO. W.) RANDOLPH, CSA, Secretary of War.  
R. W. RASIN, USA, Fort Lafayette.  
WM. H. SEWARD, USA, Secretary of State.  
EDWIN M. STANTON, USA, Secretary of War.  
W. H. STUDLEY, USA, Acting Assistant Surgeon.  
GEO. THOMAS, First Lieut., CSA, Zarvona's brother.  
L. THOMAS, Brig. Gen., USA, Adjutant General of the Army.  
Mrs. R. THOMAS = Jane Armstrong Thomas, mother of Zarvona.  
E. D. TOWNSEND, USA, Assistant Adjutant General.  
Mr. WALL, U.S. Senate (offered Resolution).  
Mrs. C. A. WILSON, wife of witness against Zarvona.  
CHAS. O. WOOD, First Lieut., USA, Commanding Fort Lafayette, N.Y. Harbor.

The following letter, supposed to be written to a cousin, was found by the Federals and was later used in evidence against Zarvona.

\*\*\*

Mattaponi, April 26, 1861.

Dear John,

I had expected to leave for Baltimore tomorrow to join some active force, but upon my mentioning the subject to George, he told me that he had already determined to go and that it was my imperative duty to remain here as mother is so disabled by the accident which she lately met with. In a word the matter was so presented to me that I who of all my family can be spared with the least loss am left here to sun myself. . . . To avoid the fatigues of a private's life which I admit I am little prepared for, I wrote for information as to means necessary to procure a commission on the staff either as engineer or topographical engineer. . . . Mother tells me that as I am so uneasy and if I must go she will write to her brother to come on here with her. If that can be managed, perhaps I can be put somewhere so as to be of use. I believe you are willing to help me; is it possible to get either of these, -- staff, engineer, or topographical corps, armed ship of Maryland or any Southern State, private armed vessel bearing the Confederate flag? If not, anything else? I probably would be better afloat. If Maryland raises no navy, will not someone be willing to fit out a small, strong and swift propeller carrying two (or even one) 10 or 11 inch guns mounted upon the patent carriage--boat, guns, ammunition? As for men I believe I can get 150 in one day . . . revolvers (can get them in





the North), cutlasses, knives, and about two dozen carbines . . .

Can anything be done? Mother sends love to Cousin May and Chase.

Your affectionate

R

\*\*\*

Fort McHenry, Md., July 8, 1861.

The Secretary of War:

Four men were arrested this evening on board the Mary Washington, parties to the seizure of the Saint Nicholas. The leader is a colonel in the Virginia volunteers. His commission dates July 1, and bears address to Richard Thomas Zarvona. Richard Thomas is his true name. They were identified by officers and men of the Saint Nicholas who were on board the Mary Washington. The colonel was secreted in a bureau. He was undoubtedly on another mission. He was identified here as a West Point student.

N. P. Banks

\*\*\*

Headquarters Department of Annapolis

July 13, 1861.

Col. E. D. Townsend, Assistant Adjutant-General.

Sir:

. . . It is my duty to represent to the Government that such prisoners as Marshal Kane and Colonel Thomas are not entirely safe if they contemplate the chances of escape. No such suspicions exist as to the first, but the second is a dangerous and desperate man . . .

With great respect, your obedient servant,

N. P. Banks

Major-General, Commanding Dept. of Annapolis

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The next letter is NOT included among the Rebellion Records but is inserted here for purpose of continuity. It was in the possession of Anita Thomas and it is a letter written to her grandmother, Mrs. William Douglas Nelson. The envelope is addressed to Mrs. Nelson, Hague, Westmorland, Va. and bears a five-cent Confederate stamp postmarked Richmond. The last sentence may be "Miss Nannie, Mr. Newton and family" instead of the words typed. "Bomba" was the nickname of Ferdinand II, King of Naples. Facsimile of the letter also is given.

Fort McHenry Nov 1 1861

My Dear Madame,

An unexpected opportunity is presented to send letters to Va. I must send you a word in remembrance of your kindness. When I shall have the real pleasure of seeing you again, I can not tell. The U.S. Government has not yet decided to exchange prisoners, besides I am considered a special case.

It is terrible to see Maryland in her present condition -- She has a great crime to answer for -- All this does make me sad, but is powerless to change my course if I am again free -- I work for principles not boundaries -- Baltimore has a large minority, perhaps one third of its population, who will do as the people of Naples did, when Garibaldi came from Capua and Victory. When they saw the red-shirted battalions, they unfurled the Italian flag and shouted lustily Viva Garibaldi -- Italia Unita -- these same people had consealed the flag of the King, and were ready to unfurl that had young Bomba come back with his [cont. page 222]





Fort One Penny Nov 1<sup>st</sup> 1861

My dear Madame,

An unexpected opportunity is presented to send letters to Va. I must send you a word in remembrance of your kindness. When I shall have the real pleasure of seeing you again, I can not tell. The U. S. Government has not yet decided to exchange prisoners, besides I am considered a special case.

It is terrible to see Maryland in her present condition. She has a great crime to answer for. All this does make me sad, but is powerless to change my course if I am again free. I work for principles not foundations. Baltimore has a large minority, perhaps one third of its population, who will do as the people of Naples did, when Garibaldi came from Capua and Victory. When they saw the red-shirted battalions, they unfurled the Italian flag and shouted lustily





Viva Garibaldi - Italia Unita - These  
same people had concealed the flag  
of the King, and were ready to unfold  
that had young Bomba come back with  
his hands, and they would have shouted  
'Full as bushy. Viva! etc. -

With a feeling of pride, I say, that  
many here are true to their honor.

Would that the men of Maryland  
were worthy of her women -

Women are often much afraid of  
vice, whereas for true moral courage  
they excel men even as they do in  
moral purity -

There is a sermon published in  
Baltimore which is much approved of -

I will try to send you a copy -

Please remember me kindly to Miss Nannie  
McNewton and family and my other friends -

Yours most truly  
Richard Thomas Garrison



The first of these is the fact that the  
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Yours truly,  
[Signature]

[cont. from page 219] guards, and they would have shouted full as lustily Viva el Re --

With a feeling of pride, I say, that many here are true to their honor. Would that the men of Maryland were worthy of their women -- Women are often afraid of mice, whereas for true moral courage they exceed men even as they do in moral purity.

There is a sermon published in Baltimore which is much approved of -- I will try to send you a copy.

Please remember me kindly to Miss Nannie M. Newton and family and my other friends.

Yours most truly  
Richard Thomas Zarvona

[On 2 December 1861 at 2:30 p.m. Zarvona was transferred by steamer from Fort Mchenry, Baltimore to Fort Lafayette, New York harbor.]

\*\*\*

Fort Lafayette, Dec. 22, 1861.

Hon. Secretary of State, U.S.A.

Sir:

I have been held as a prisoner of state as I have been unofficially informed for five months and a half. My health which for several years has been delicate now causes me great suffering. I request you to release me upon parole. I will offer you guarantees which I believe you will consider sufficient that any obligation which I enter upon will be faithfully kept.

Respectfully, the Colonel,

Zarvona

\*\*\*

No. 9 Monroe Street, N.Y., Jan. 3, 1862.

Hon. Wm. H. Seward, Secretary of State.

Sir:

Please excuse me, but necessity compels me to call to your attention once more to the case of Charles Wilson, my husband, now in prison to await the trial of Thomas the rebel. He is witness against him, and has been in prison at Baltimore since July last. . . . Wilson was a hand on board of the schooner Margaret, of Boston, when taken by Thomas. . . . For God's sake let my husband come home.

Mrs. C. A. Wilson

\*\*\*

Fort Lafayette, January 9, 1862.

Hon. Secretary of State of the United States.

Sir:

I addressed to you a letter on the 22d day of December 1861. A response is requested.

Respectfully, the Colonel,

Zarvona

\*\*\*

Fort Lafayette, February 3, 1862.

Hon. James A. Pearce, Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir:

. . . Colonel Zarvona has been a prisoner since July last and has been subject to illness during the whole of that time. . . . [He proposes to exchange Zarvona for Col. Corcoran of the Federal Army.]

R.W. Rasin





\*\*\*

Headquarters, Baltimore, Feb. 20, 1862.  
Hon. Wm. H. Seward, Secretary of State.

Sir:

I have the honor . . . Two days ago the Secretary of War submitted to me the inquiry whether Thomas should be transferred to the list of prisoners of war. I have replied that he ought not. . . .

John A. Dix

Major-General

\*\*\*

Fort Hamilton, New York Harbor,  
March 5, 1862.

Brig.-Gen. L. Thomas

Adj. Gen. of the Army, Washington, D.C.

Sir:

Inclosed you will receive papers in reference to yours of the 28th ultimo about Colonel Zarvona alias the French lady. His peculiarity in writing has been noticed here for some time . . .

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

Martin Burke

Lt.-Col., Commanding

Inclosure (1). From L. Thomas, Adjutant-General, to Lieut. Col. Martin Burke, Fort Lafayette:

Feb. 27, 1862.

Dear Sir:

I have been informed that Thomas, the French lady, imprisoned at Fort Lafayette, has a cipher by which his correspondence with a Mrs. Norris and others in Baltimore passes without suspicion. For instance his quotation of a line of poetry will in some way convey a request for acids, files, or anything he may desire and which will be conveyed to him under the case of a breast-pin or something apparently harmless. He is a desperate man and very restless under his confinement, and designs escaping if he can. My informant was lately released from Fort Lafayette, where he seems to have been confined under a misapprehension and where he says he became acquainted with the above fact.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

E. D. Townsend

Assistant Adj.-Gen.

Inclosure (2):

Fort Lafayette, February 25, 1862.

Box received. Box inclosed for Mr. H. delivered. Your letters not received. Have you signed in language? My love and thanks to you and Mrs. G. Won't you write soon?

Affectionately,

R

Inclosure (3):

Fort Lafayette, February 26, 1862.

See to-day's Herald, column 6, pages 1 and 2. Please inform me if any books or letters from France for me addressed to care of J. have arrived. Please thank little Mary and give her my love, and my love to you also.

Affectionately,

R





Inclosure (4):

Fort Lafayette, February 28, 1862.  
Mails unpropitious for nearly three weeks.

R

\*\*\*

Baltimore, April 3, 1862.

Colonel Burke.

Sir:

I have written to Colonel Wood, also Lieutenant Wood, to know how my son, Colonel Zarvona, is situated. My letters have not been noticed by either Col. or Lt. Wood. Excuse a mother's anxiety in requesting you to inform me of the situation of my son; also the state of his health. Knowing the active mind that my son has, I fear much the effect of solitary confinement on his mind. Direct Mrs. R. Thomas, care of St. George W. Teackle, corner of Courtland and Lexington streets, Baltimore, Md.

Yours, respectfully,

Mrs. R. Thomas

P.S. Please let me know if he received my several letters dated March &c., a suit of clothes, &c., sent by Adams Express March 22, 1862.

\*\*\*

Fort Hamilton, New York Harbor,  
April 22, 1862.

Brig. Gen. L. Thomas,

Adj.-Gen. of the Army, Washington, D.C.

Sir:

Inclosed you will receive the report of an attempt to escape by a well-known state prisoner from Fort Lafayette. Not the slightest blame in my opinion can be imputed to my officer in command of that post. Unfortunately or fortunately one of the new soldiers instead one of the old garrison was sent with him to the water closet by the sergeant of the guard. Had it been one of the latter, he would have been shot at once. It was a stormy night, tide ebb, and the wind blowing out of the harbor; a few minutes more and he must have been drowned, and it was not by any means a night suitable for lowering a boat.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

Martin Burke

Lieut. Col. Third Artillery.

Inclosed with above:

Fort Lafayette, New York Harbor,  
April 22, 1862.

Lieut.-Col. M. Burke, Third Artillery, U.S. Army.

Fort Hamilton, New York Harbor.

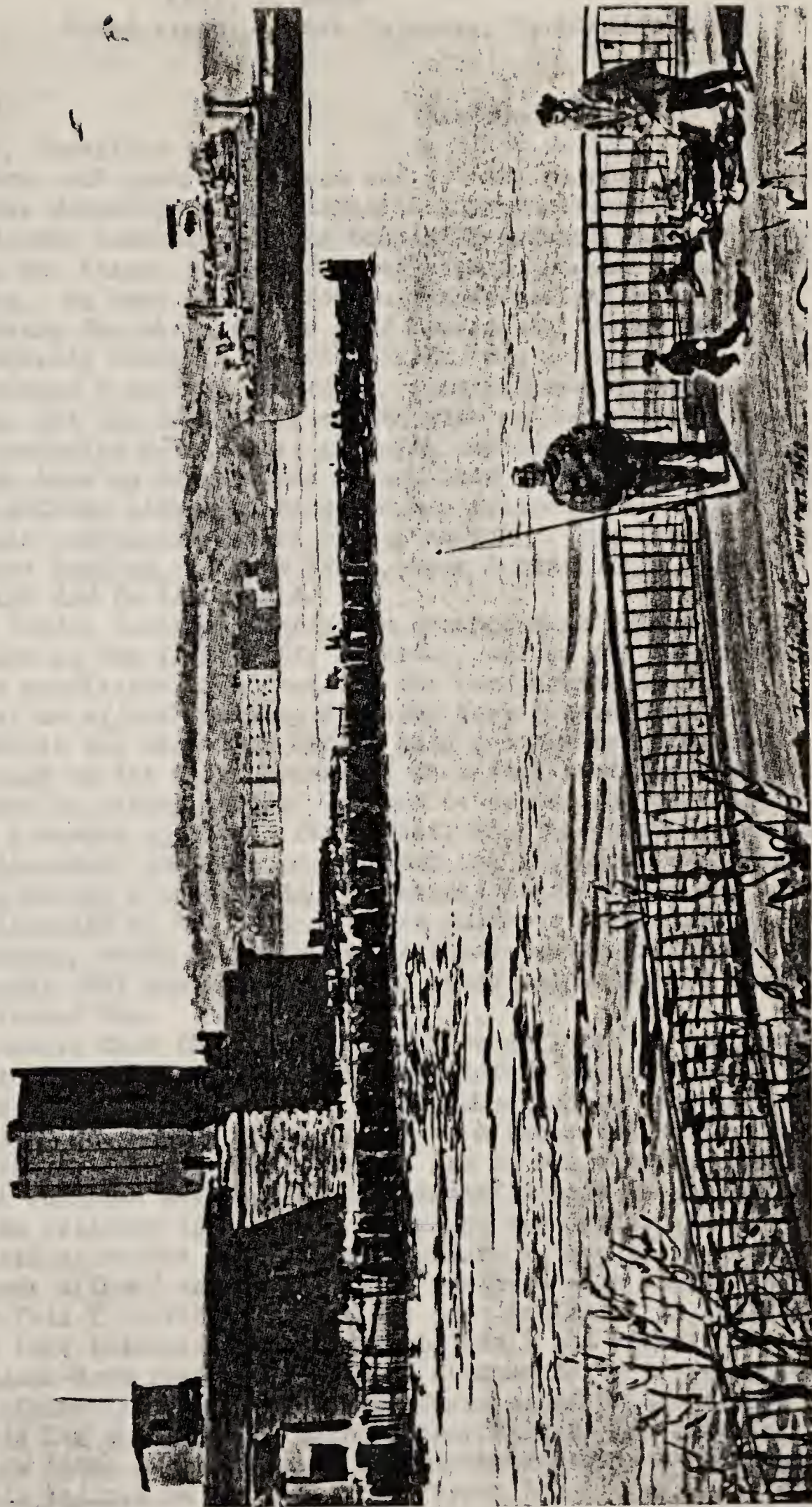
Colonel:

I have the honor to make the following report: At half past 9 o'clock last night Richard Thomas Zarvona, the French lady, a prisoner in close confinement at this post, informed the sergeant of the guard that he wanted to go to the water closet. The sergeant sent him out attended by a member of the guard; when he had reached the water closet (which is situated at the sea wall) instead of entering it he jumped overboard and attempted to escape by swimming to the Long Island shore. The guard immediately gave the alarm, when the barge belonging to the post was manned and he was recaptured before he had succeeded in getting









CREDIT Standard Oil Company (New Jersey).

*by John Wansley  
in "The Lamp"*

OLD FORT LAFAYETTE (left), at the Narrows dividing Upper from Lower New York Bay, has been demolished since this picture was painted. In its place will rise one tower of the mighty bridge that is to span the harbor here, joining Brooklyn and Staten Island





but a short distance. To prevent a recurrence of this I have had a police tub placed in his room.

I am, colonel, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

Chas. O. Wood

First Lieut., Ninth Infantry, Commanding Post.

\*\*\*

Richmond, June 16, 1862.

Hon. Mr. Randolph, Secretary of War:

In accordance with your suggestion and for the purpose of drawing your attention more directly to the matter, I take the liberty of addressing you a written communication in behalf of Colonel Zarvona (more commonly known as the French Lady) and in reference to your taking some action in his case. We have been fellow-sufferers and prisoners in Fort Lafayette during the whole of the past winter, he having been removed from Fort Mchenry early in December last. His imprisonment (which has now reached almost a year in duration), from his own account and that of others and for the last three months from my own personal knowledge, has been conducted with a most singular and uncalled-for cruelty. The fact is it has been my opinion and is now that such treatment could not be continued without either costing him his reason or his life. In regard to the cause and circumstances of his capture I beg leave to refer you to Governor Letcher, of this State, whom I believe to be aware of the causes which led to his arrest.

The United States Government hold him charged with piracy and treason for the seizure of the steamer St. Nicholas, yet at the time of his capture he held a commission as colonel in the Confederate service. I would suggest that an officer holding the same rank in the U.S. Army be selected from amongst our prisoners and be held for him individually and information sent to the U.S. Government that this particular officer will never be given up unless Colonel Zarvona be exchanged according to his rank. He is a member of one of the oldest, most respectable and at one time most influential families in Maryland, as I've been informed. His relatives are people I understand of considerable property and have contributed as liberally as has been in their power to the cause of Southern independence, while his only two brothers are at present in our army. It is thought that our Government has acted with the most unmerited indifference toward him.

I do not propose that the person who may be selected as a hostage for him should be treated in a personally retaliatory manner, for I think that such a course would not only be unproductive of any desired results but would be derogatory to the honor of a Christian nation in a civilized and enlightened age. Three months ago he was removed from the casemate which he occupied with myself and several others to the guard-room and placed in solitary confinement in one of the cells. There he was denied all reading matter or writing materials of any description whatsoever. He was allowed no communication whatever with anyone inside the fort, his jailers excepted, and this has been continued up to the time that I left Fort Lafayette. Some time before I was released he was taken from the guard-room cell and placed in a casemate by himself, but after making an attempt to escape one tempestuous night by springing from the wall into the raging tide, although not knowing how to swim, he was not allowed to leave the room under any circumstances, and a sergeant (selected I verily believe on account of his known harsh demeanor) was confined in the room with him night and day armed with a loaded musket. This sergeant was allowed to leave the room during meal times only, and at such intervals three privates replaced him. These last details I ob-





tained from the testimony of my fellow-prisoners, who became acquainted with the facts from their own observation and hearsay from soldiers in the garrison.

I have felt myself called upon by Christian feelings and humanity to make the above statement and hope you will excuse my trespassing so long upon your valuable time. In regard to my own case . . .

Yours, respectfully,

Edward B. Cuthbert.

\*\*\*

Fort Hamilton, New York Harbor,  
July 8, 1862.

Brig. Gen. L. Thomas,

Adj.-Gen. of the Army, Washington City, D.C.

Sir:

In obedience to instructions from the War Dept. dated June 27 1862, Washington City, signed E. D. Townsend, assistant adj.-gen, directing all passes for the French lady to be sent to Washington City for verification, I herewith inclose one for the War Dept. allowing Mrs. Richard Thomas and Mrs. Henry W. Thomas to visit Zarvona, a prisoner at Fort Lafayette. Please telegraph an answer.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

Martin Burke

Lieut.-Col. Third Artillery

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Fort Hamilton, New York Harbor,  
July 14, 1862.

Brig. Gen. L. Thomas,

Adj.-Gen. U.S. Army, Washington, D.C.

Sir:

I have received an application from Mrs. Thomas (mother of the prisoner at Fort Lafayette called the French lady) asking that she may send books and papers to him. I shall await your decision in regard to the application before giving her an answer.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

Martin Burke

Lieut.-Col. Third Artillery

[Indorsement]

War Dept., October 4, 1862.

Permission refused.

By order of the Sect. of War

P. H. Watson

Assistant Secty. of War

\*\*\*

Fort Monroe, Sept. 29, 1862.

General Thomas:

. . . In regard to Zarvona please say to the Secty. of War that he is a crack-brained fellow who can do no mischief beyond his individual capacity, mental and physical, which is constitutionally small. I only make the suggestion in case there are no public considerations involved in the question of his release.

John A. Dix

Major-General

\*\*\*





Camp Maryland  
Near Winchester, Va., Nov. 18, 1862.

Lieut. Gen. T. J. Jackson,  
Commanding Second Corps, Army of Northern Virginia  
Sir:

I have the honor to request for my brother, Sergt. J. William Thomas, Company A, First Maryland Battalion, such assignment to special duty or leave of absence as will enable him to visit Richmond for the purpose of seeing Mr. Davis [Jefferson Davis, President of the Confederacy] relative to the case of our brother, Colonel Zarvona, now for more than 16 months an inmate of a Northern prison and subject to more maltreatment and cruel hardship than one could deem possible . . .

. . . I have seen Mr. Davis several times upon the subject but have never been able to get anything more satisfactory than a formal demand . . . I have within the past few days received letters from home in part an account of a visit my mother was permitted to pay her son. . . I beg to inclose you an extract from the same.

I hope I do not ask too much for I speak to you not only as my commanding officer but as to one of influence who can do much toward relieving the unmerited sufferings of a noble-hearted man who risked very much for the cause in which we are now enlisted, and who is now and has been for a long time treated as a common felon for doing what his country applauded.

I have the honor to be, with great respect, sir, your obedient servant,

Geo. Thomas

First Lieut. and Acting Adjutant First Maryland Battalion.

[Inclosure]

Your mother obtained last week a permit to visit Cousin Dick. They would allow no one else to see him. . . . When she got to Fort Lafayette she was taken to Wood's (the commander) office. . . . When he came in she did not recognize him at first he was so changed. He looked so tall and was very thin and emaciated and had hardly strength to speak. His hand which you know was short and plump is now long and bony. He held her hand all the time. She asked him how he was. He said he was as well as could be expected shut up without light or air, his cell partly under water, with a place about the size of a dollar to admit the light; on cloudy days he could not see to walk about his room . . . Aunt Jane has been sending him money all the time and he would never have known it if she had not seen him. At the end of half an hour she was told that the time was out; . . . Aunt Jane says if he is kept there two months longer he cannot stand it; it must kill him. . . . It is your mother's request that I write you. She is too sick to write herself. She has been sick ever since her return . . .

\*\*\*

Executive Department,  
Richmond Va., Jan. 2, 1863.

His Excellency Abraham Lincoln,  
President of the United States.

Sir:

On the 17th of April, 1861, the convention of the Commonwealth of Virginia . . . passed "An ordinance to repeal the ratification of the Constitution of the United States . . ."

Against this Confederacy the Government of the United States declared



The University of Chicago is a private, non-sectarian, co-educational institution of higher learning. It was founded in 1837 and is now one of the leading universities in the United States. The university is located in Chicago, Illinois, and is the largest university in the city. It is a member of the Association of American Universities and the American Council on Education. The university is known for its research and scholarship, and it has a long history of excellence in education. The university is also known for its commitment to social justice and public service. The university is a member of the United Nations and the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development. The university is a member of the Association of American Universities and the American Council on Education. The university is known for its research and scholarship, and it has a long history of excellence in education. The university is also known for its commitment to social justice and public service.

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## THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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war . . .

In the prosecution of this purpose Col. Richard Thomas Zarvona, an officer with others under his command with the authority and by express orders from the executive of this State, planned and executed an expedition by which the steamer Saint Nicholas and other vessels belonging to the marine of the United States were captured and . . . with orders of a warlike character, he was arrested . . . Mary Washington . . . Fort McHenry; from thence he was removed and is now confined at Fort Lafayette as a felon in a dungeon, and subjected to the greatest inhumanity. . . . rightfully a prisoner of war is not denied . . . not in any sense to be regarded as a felon, holding as he did the military commission . . . and in execution of his military and naval orders. If he was regarded in any other light . . . in the language of the Constitution of the United States entitled "to a speedy and a public trial . . . ." Notwithstanding this express clause he has now been confined for eighteen months . . . Under the cartel for the exchange of prisoners, . . . all prisoners of war were to be exchanged upon certain agreed terms. Why Colonel Zarvona has not been exchanged under this agreement it is for the Government of the United States to explain. Why he has been subjected to indignities that no other prisoners have been compelled to undergo is not for me to consider. It is sufficient for the executive of this State to be apprised of the fact to induce him for the sake of humanity and for the usages of civilized nations to ask that such severity should not be practised upon an officer in the service of this State and his obedience to orders emanating from her authority.

It is proper under all the circumstances of this case that I should inform you distinctly of the course I have taken and the policy I intend to pursue.

. . . From these prisoners I have taken two of the officers [a Capt. and Lieut. and] the following [four] privates . . . to be also kept in the penitentiary in solitary confinement, all of them there to remain until Colonel Zarvona is properly exchanged under suitable agreement or discharged and permitted to return to this city.

. . .

Respectfully,

John Letcher  
Governor of Virginia

[A large portion of the Governor's letter has been deleted because of its great length. However, nothing has been left out which was significant or which has not been fully treated previously.]

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Resolution introduced by Mr. WALL and unanimously adopted:

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE U.S. SENATE JANUARY 28, 1863.

Resolved, that the Committee on Military Affairs and the Militia be instructed to inquire for the purpose of extending such relief as the circumstances may require into the case of Mr. Thomas [Zarvona], of Maryland, now a prisoner of war at Fort Lafayette, who it is represented has been confined in a dungeon of that fortress since June last and is now hopelessly insane by reason of his sufferings.

[As an outcome of the above Resolution, correspondence was introduced including General Dix's opinion that Zarvona should be treated as a "pirate and a spy", the testimony that Zarvona was captured when in woman's clothing, the fact that he was given close confinement because of his attempt to escape, and that reading matter was denied him because he "has





taken advantage of these privileges to communicate with parties outside".  
The medical report follows.]

Fort Lafayette, February 2, 1863.

Col. M. Burke:

In obedience to your orders I have this day examined Col. Richard Thomas Zarvona, C.S. Army, and find that his health is generally good: according to his own admission that it is better than when he entered the fort.

In reference to his mental condition I find him social and rational, but somewhat eccentric in some of his ideas, and yet no more so than in thousands who may be said to be born with a certain turn of character.

Therefore in my opinion I should deem his peculiarities perfectly consistent with sanity of mind.

Respectfully, yours,

W. H. Studley, M.D.

Acting Assistant Surgeon, U.S. Army

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Penitentiary of Virginia, Richmond, Feb. 5, 1863

Hon. G. W. Dunlap.

Sir:

Your petitioners are prisoners of war confined in the penitentiary of this city. We are held as hostages for one Colonel Thomas . . .  
. . . We have been prisoners for more than three months, one and a half of which has been in this loathsome place where we have suffered extremely . . . rooms small . . . diet same as the convicts . . . There are seven of us held for the release of one man. We should think our Government ought to make the exchange without hesitation. . . . four officers among us and very gallant ones, too, . . .

We have written several letters to Secretary Stanton . . . received no reply . . . Governor Letcher has long since notified our Government of his readiness to exchange us.

Very respectfully, your obedient servants,

[all sign]

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Washington, March 6, 1863.

Lieut.-Col. W. H. Ludlow.

. . . I have consulted the Secty. of War in relation to Zarvona and he declines to authorize his exchange . . .

W. Hoffman

Agent for Exchange of Prisoners

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Fort Monroe, Va., April 11, 1863.

Col. William Hoffman.

. . . The Secty. of War has authorized me to exchange Zarvona. Please send him with the other officers . . .

Wm. H. Ludlow

Commissary-General of Prisoners





Fort Monroe, April 25, 1863.

Col. W. Hoffman, Commissary-General of Prisoners:

Have those prisoners, including Zarvona, been sent from Fort Lafayette to Fort Delaware? If not will you please give the necessary orders and I will delay sending up the steamer to Fort Delaware until their arrival there. Please reply.

W. H. Ludlow  
Agent for Exchange of Prisoners

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Washington, April 25, 1863.

Lieut. Col. W. H. Ludlow:

Prisoners, including Zarvona, left Fort Lafayette April 16. Arrival at Fort Delaware not reported. I inquired yesterday and directed a report made to you.

W. Hoffman  
Commissary-General of Prisoners

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Zarvona reached Richmond 6 May 1863 and was greeted by Grandfather on his arrival as stated in the Diary, page 47, and on page 215, "his nervous system completely broken down".

We have seen a number of references to Zarvona's health, and there is a certain mystery here. From some of the accounts he was fragile and unwell even before his capture, and yet others refer to his great energy and vitality at that time. There are few men who could have withstood without impairment the brutal confinement that Zarvona experienced in his 22 months of prison. The mental and physical strain was especially harsh for a man of Zarvona's temperament. It would seem evident that Dr. Studley's report (page 230) on Zarvona's health was a complete fraud! Evidence to the contrary is overwhelming, not only from those sympathetic to Zarvona, but also from the Yankee General Dix (page 227) himself.

The right of the Federals to hold Zarvona and to consider him a special case, rather than to exchange him as a prisoner of war, is another matter. But there was no justification in withholding trial and subjecting a brave man, fighting for what he believed right, to such inhuman and cruel treatment. Although in many respects an able statesman, Secretary Stanton was also known for his cruelty and as having that trait of personal cowardice that marks the bully. In his handling of Zarvona's case, the latter description fits him well.

\* \* \*

NEWSPAPER ACCOUNTS on Zarvona, which appeared in 1861, 50 years later, and 100 years later, are reproduced on the following pages. Usually their source is not known, especially in the case of the older clippings, which were found loose in my father's family scrapbook. If Jane Armstrong collected them, they probably came from Baltimore or St. Mary's papers; if Grandfather collected them, they could have come from Richmond papers. Because of the original small type and deterioration because of age, most of them appear enlarged. It is hoped that you will agree that Zarvona's Lieutenant Watts was a natural-born story teller.



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**Seizure of the Steamer St. Nicholas by the Secessionists—Piracy on the Chesapeake.**

WASHINGTON, July 1.—Charles Worthington, agent of the steamer St. Nicholas, to-day addressed to the Secretary of the Navy the following statement:

The steamer St. Nicholas left Baltimore on Friday last, at 4 o'clock P. M., laden with freight for consumption of the citizens of St. Mary's and Charles counties, Maryland, and with other cargo for Washington, Alexandria and Georgetown. She also had on board a number of passengers, who were to be landed at her regular landings on the Maryland shore of the Potomac river.

It is reported by the officers of the steamer Diamond State, which arrived here on Saturday, that they saw her about one o'clock that morning leaving Point Lookout and heading under great speed for the Virginia shore. She was presumed to be destined for Kinsale.—There is no doubt but that she was taken forcible possession of by parties who came passengers in her from Baltimore or by a force from Virginia, though it is not known that she had on board any suspicious persons when she left Baltimore. Such, however, may have been the case unknown to her officers.

Nothing has been heard of her since. I will add that after an interview with you and your chief clerk a week since, I took passage on her on Tuesday last for Baltimore for the purpose of concerting with Capt. Ward as to the most effectual mode of preventing the landing on the Maryland shore of any articles intended for transportation across the river into Virginia, and at the same time avoiding any unnecessary detention to her. The arrangement we made was mutually satisfactory, and he promised to meet her every Saturday morning at the mouth of the river, and give her a pass to proceed on her trip; but alas, he is no more—and doubtless some evil disposed persons took advantage of the absence of a government officer, and made the seizure. As the lives and property of loyal citizens of Maryland and the District of Columbia are hazarded by her detention, may I ask what measures may at once be taken for her capture.

[Signed] CHARLES WORTHINGTON.

The Navy Department was subsequently informed from another source that the St. Nicholas has been taken by her captors into the Rappahannock river.

**Seizure of the Steamer Saint Nicholas.**—Information was received yesterday that the steamer St. Nicholas, which runs between this port and Washington, was seized on Saturday by Confederates, off Piney Point, at the mouth of the Potomac. She left this city on Friday, and stopped at the usual landings. When she reached Point Lookout, where a number of passengers got on board, Capt. Hollins, late in command of the U. S. steam frigate Susquehanna, took command, and went across the Potomac to Coan river, where her passengers landed. Several ladies who were on board were cared for by the Virginians. A large number of passengers who left this city by the steamer were bound to Virginia, and most of those who got on board at Point Lookout were Virginians, awaiting her arrival. After the passengers were landed at Coan river, one hundred Tennessee infantry and twenty-five sailors were put on board, and the boat, under command of Captain Hollins, started for the Rappahannock. She succeeded in running the blockade, and on her way captured three prizes—one schooner laden with ice, one with coffee and one with coal—all of which were

towed up to Fredericksburg. It is reported that one thousand Tennessee troops are stationed at Heathsville. The St. Nicholas has run regularly on the Potomac, but was not permitted to stop at any of the landings on the Virginia side! She is one among the best boats running from Baltimore, and of excellent speed.

A dispatch from Washington, published in another column, confirms the above statement, and gives some further particulars.

RICHMOND, Va., July 6, 1861.

**CAPTURE OF THE STEAMER ST. NICHOLAS BY THE "FRENCH LADY"—SKETCH OF THE "FRENCH LADY" AND THE AIDS OF THE REBEL EXPLOIT.**

I have to record a very romantic and daring exploit undertaken and successfully carried out by some fourteen Maryland Zouaves, under the command of General Zarvona alias Thomas. Not long since the hero of our story conceived the idea of capturing the St. Nicholas, a large steamer in the employ of the federal government, running between Baltimore and Washington. Disguising himself as a French lady, he with his companions went on board, the majority of whom appeared to be good and liege subjects of the United States; indeed, so strong was their patriotism that they more than hinted they were going to join the Lincoln army at Washington. About four o'clock P. M., on Friday se'nnight, the steamer put off from the wharf at Baltimore and regularly got under weigh. Upon reaching Point Lookout the vessel stopped and took in additional passengers in various disguises, who turned out to be a reinforcement of Zouaves, ready to follow their adventurous commander. Among the latter was Lieutenant Alexander, who, upon entering the saloon, immediately recognized his old lady acquaintance from Paris, when a general conversation (in French, of course,) ensued relative to maturing their prearranged plans. In a short time arms that had been smuggled on board were carefully loaded and concealed about the person of each man. All went on very harmoniously until one A. M. on Saturday, when Colonel Thomas threw off his disguise, and commanded his men to do their duty; the vessel in a few minutes was made a prize to the Confederate government.

The captain and crew, filled with terror and surprise, surrendered themselves prisoners without offering the slightest resistance. Captain Hollins, late of the United States Navy, who had embarked at Point Lookout, then assumed command of the vessel, and steamed her into Coan river, with the expectation of taking on board a regiment of Tennesseans for more extended operations. These not having arrived at the appointed time, the St. Nicholas was headed down the stream. On her passage she captured two schooners and a brig, each having a crew of ten men, all of whom were taken prisoners. The vessels were laden with coffee, anthracite coal, and ice, and were safely towed to the mouth of the Rappahannock. Their value is estimated at \$400,000.

I have conversed with the Captain of the St. Nicholas, the pilot of the brig, and others of the prisoners. The captain observed to me that "He did not like the appearance of the French woman. She sat," he remarked, "next to me at table, so close that our knees touched. I fancied she looked mighty queer; but I'll be hanged if I thought she was a man." The mate of the brig, who looked as stout and as jolly as a Dutchman, could scarcely retain his risibility, although it threatened to do him consummate damage about the region of the diaphragm. "All I know is," he jocularly observed, "that I was piloting the brig when they overhauled me, and piloted me up here where you see me now."

I have been introduced to and have had conversations with Colonel Zarvona and his adjutant, George W. Alexander, a fierce looking but withal intelligent man, who, he informs me, was officer of the ship which first brought Kossuth to England. Colonel Thomas is a tall, thin young man, twenty-seven years of age, with sharp, irregular features, deep indentions in his cheeks, blue eyes, long, aquiline shaped nose, and is closely shaved on head and







face. He is a native of Maryland, and has served with Garibaldi in the ranks during the Italian campaign. There is a deep seated melancholy about the man, which might be taken for monomania. He looked downcast and miserable in the extreme, and seemed to entertain no idea of enjoyment in this world. He was exceedingly gentle and speaks in a low, weak voice. No one could imagine that a frame so feeble could contain such a brave, undaunted spirit. I am informed that some years ago he had an attachment, but that this object of his devotion expired in his arms while endeavoring to rescue her from drowning. Ever since that unhappy occurrence he is said to be morose and gloomy, and incapable of enduring the slightest disappointment. To me he appeared to be the most dejected of mortals, and would have made a study for Lavater. Alluding to the late partial failure of his plans and the (to him) valueless cargo which one contained, he remarked, "What is ice to me? I want flannel." Colonel Zarvona presents a highly picturesque appearance, attired in his blue Zouave costume, white gaiters, red cap, with gold tassel, and light, elegant sword.

He, with his companions, have just left Richmond on another and grander expedition.

#### THE SEIZURE OF THE STEAMER ST. NICHOLAS.

A passenger who was on board the steamer St. Nicholas when she was seized has furnished the St. Mary's (Md.) Beacon with the following account of the capture:

On Friday evening, the 28th ult., the St. Nicholas left Baltimore with a considerable amount of freight and a large number of passengers. There was nothing in the movement of the passengers to excite any suspicion of the daring act which was contemplated. Every thing passed off quietly until we reached Point Look Out. Here several passengers disembarked, and an elderly man, whom we were afterwards told was Capt. Hollins, late of the United States Navy, boarded the steamer, and took his station upon the deck in the rear of the ladies' saloon. As it was very warm in the berths, I concluded, in company with a friend, to spend the night in arm chairs upon the deck, and was thus the unsuspecting witness of the scene which followed. Thus far on the trip, we had observed an elderly looking lady, sitting in the saloon, apparently much concerned about the arrival of the boat at Washington, but on reaching the Point, she retired to her state-room, and only reappeared, after the boat had resumed her course, in the person of a full-dressed Zouave, climbing over the railing of the deck. A few hurried words were whispered in the ear of the elderly man, of whom I have spoken, and they both rushed quickly below. In less than two minutes the boat had stopped. But even yet I suspected nothing of the truth, supposing that a government boat was boarding her for the purpose of inquiry, and I went below to see the proceedings.

Judge of my astonishment, then, when I saw about fifteen men, armed with carbines, revolvers and bowie-knives, standing in battle array and in full possession of the boat. The lights were then extinguished, guards placed over the different parts of the boat, and her course directed to the Virginia shore. We reached the wharf in Cone river about 3½ o'clock in the morning. Here we were boarded by several Virginia officers, and shortly the 2d Tennessee regiment made its appearance. They were well armed with rifles and bowie-knives, and were anxious to meet the federal troops to test the accuracy of their rifles and the virtue of their steel. They had marched twenty miles the night before through the mud and rain, and were "spilling" for a fight.—Throughout the whole night not a single act

of rudeness was perpetrated, all the passengers being treated with the greatest civility. The ladies were told by the commander that they were in the hands of southern gentlemen, and would be treated as his own sisters.—Whatever opinions may be entertained of the capture itself, no one who was present on that eventful night can say aught but in praise of the gentlemanly deportment of all concerned. The plan was certainly well concocted and well executed, for a number of sailors were ready at the wharf to man her, who, together with 30 or 40 soldiers, took her in charge and sailed down the bay, bound for the Rappahannock.

Before the boat left, all the passengers who desired to land were permitted to leave, and likewise take with them such goods as they might have on board. Of this opportunity, nearly all availed themselves, trusting to obtain conveyances for transportation to their homes. Several passengers who missed their breakfast on the boat, obtained it at a neighboring farm-house, and, upon asking how much was to pay, they received the simple but characteristic reply—"Gentlemen, recollect that you are in Virginia!" thus exhibiting the old Virginia hospitality, even in time of war, to those who were not of their own. On every side we received nothing but kindness.

The Beacon says:

There can be very little doubt that the seizure was made by authority of the Virginia or Confederate Government; and in view of the inconvenience to which we shall be put by it, we are tempted to exclaim with Mercutio, "A plague on both your houses." Are we already between the upper and nether millstone?"

News from the South.

*Public Guard.*—This well drilled corps made its customary annual appearance on our streets yesterday, by way of celebrating the 4th. They were under the command of Lieut. Edward S. Gay, and were much admired for their soldierly bearing, as well as for the regularity of their movement and neatness of uniform.—They went through the evolutions and fired twelve rounds on Capitol Square, eleven being in honor of the Confederate States, and one for the Legislature of Maryland. The Guard was accompanied by its splendid brass band, whose performance of the Marseillaise on the public square *enthused* many French volunteers from other States. Col. Thomas, the gallant Marylander, was also present in his Zouave dress, an interested spectator. He attracted much respectful attention. 5th July

#### THE CAPTURE IN THE BAY.

An officer of the expedition informs us that after the bold and masterly seizure of the St. Nicholas, which was accomplished in such admirable style by Col. T. and his Zouaves, the steamer was placed under command of Capt. H., of the Confederate navy. Capt. H. was joined by Lieuts. Sims and Minor, of the C. S. N., and Lieut. Thorburn, of the Virginia navy, with fifteen sailors from the steamer Yorktown. Lieut. Sims boarded the brig, and Lieuts. Minor and Thorburn the schooners. These gentlemen brought in the vessels and anchored them.







The Comedy of the St. Nicholas—The French Lady Again.

The French lady, who, by the way, was not Captain Hollins, but a young Colonel of Zouaves, was in Richmond on Tuesday last, the hero of the day. At the Spottswood House, surrounded by his friends, they insisted on seeing him in his female costume as he appeared on the St. Nicholas. To gratify them he left the room, promising to return promptly, provided the company was not enlarged, as the joke was to be strictly private. Unfortunately the circle was shortly after disturbed by the entrance of a strange lady, for whom, however, room was made and to whom a seat was tendered with customary Virginia gallantry. The rest of the company broke up into knots, leaving the stranger to herself, and discussed in whispers the propriety of keeping the Colonel out, until a favorable opportunity presented itself. Suddenly their embarrassment was relieved by the action of the lady, who, lifting her skirts to a modest height, displayed a soldier's uniform and end of a cutlass. The effect was astonishing.

RICHMOND.

Richmond is crowded. There is plenty of money and an astonishingly brisk business. It has become a Southern New York.

The vessels captured by the steamer *St. Nicholas* on Saturday last, the 29th inst., after the *St. Nicholas* herself had been captured by our darling adventurers, under Capt. H— and Col. T—, are as follows:

Brig *Monticello*, from Brazil, bound to Baltimore, with 3,500 bags of coffee.

Schooner *Mary Pierce*, from Boston, bound to Washington City, with 260 tons of ice.

Schooner *Margaret*, from Alexandria, bound to Staten Island, with 270 tons of coal.

Lieut. Rimms, C. S. N., was put in charge of the *Monticello*; Lieut. Robert D. Minor, G. S. N., in charge of the *Mary Pierce*; and Lieut. Thorburn, of the Virginia Navy, in charge of the *Margaret*.

The vessels, as well as the captured and capturing steamer, are all in the Rappahannock.

We wanted coffee, ice, and coal, and we wanted the steamer and the vessels; and the country is loudly praising the bold officers and brave men who have supplied the market. If the enemy had not been whipped on Thursday night at Mathias' Point, perhaps more might have been accomplished by our brave fellows while their hands were in. But they have done splendidly as things now stand.

## ARREST OF THE CAPTOR OF THE STEAMER ST. NICHOLAS.

BALTIMORE, July 8, 1861.

There is a tremendous excitement in town about the arrest of Captain or Colonel Richard Thomas, the French lady who captured the steamer *St. Nicholas*. He is well known here, and has many friends among the first families in the city. Not having even letters of marque from President Davis for U. S. protection, he is regarded as

no other light than as a public person, and will be so treated by General Banks. Thomas declared on his arrival at Fort McHenry that he was a Colonel, and expected to be treated as such by belligerents.

We heard yesterday morning a rumor of the arrest of Col. Richard Thomas, of Richard, whose recent exploits have endeared him to every Southern heart. We did not credit the rumor until we received the Baltimore Exchange, of the 9th inst., which contains the following paragraph in relation to the matter:

We learn that Mr. Richard Thomas, of St. Mary's county, and five or six other persons, were arrested on board the steamer *Mary Washington* as she was coming up the bay yesterday. The charges against them are believed to be that they were concerned in the seizure of the *St. Nicholas* a few days since. The party were coming up to the city as passengers, when they were pointed out by two spies on board the boat, and as she reached the wharf at Fort McHenry, the boat rounded to and they were delivered up to the officer in command.

BALTIMORE, July 8, 1861.

Lieutenant Carmichael, of Provost Marshal Kenly's police, went down the river in a tug, and boarded the steamer *Mary Washington*, to arrest a man named Neill Green, who was charged with being engaged in the riot on the 19th of April, and who it was thought would come on board at the Patuxent. On coming up the river he ascertained that Capt. Thomas, of St. Mary's county, who took command of the *St. Nicholas* and headed the pirates, was also on board, with seven of his confederates; their object, it is supposed, being to seize another steamer in a similar manner. Lieut. Carmichael on getting abreast of Fort Henry, ordered the captain to stop at the wharf, where he made known the facts to General Banks, who ordered a company of Massachusetts troops to arrest all on board. Seven of the pirates were found, but Captain Thomas had concealed himself, and, after an hour's search, was found hid in a large bureau drawer in the ladies' cabin.

It will be remembered he went aboard the *St. Nicholas* disguised as a French lady. They were all detained at the Fort with several witnesses, who were on board the *St. Nicholas* at the time of the seizure, including her captain and engineers.

*Seizure of Steamers by the Federal Government—Expedition up the Patuxent and Potomac Rivers.* Shortly after six o'clock yesterday morning a body of troops seized the steamer *Chester*, at her wharf on Light street, and passengers who had got on board for the purpose of going to the Eastern Shore were required to go on shore. About the same time another body of troops appeared at the lower end of O'Donnell's wharf and took possession of the steamers *George Weems* and *Mary Washington*, of the Patuxent river route. The *Chester* was taken to Fort McHenry, where she was supplied with two 12-pounder guns, a company of infantry, one of artillery, and a squad of Col. Kenly's police, when she left.

It was declared that the object of the seizure was for an expedition to the Patuxent and Po-



There is a large number of people who are interested in the study of the history of the United States, and who are also interested in the study of the history of the world. This is a very important study, and it is one that is being carried out by many people in many different ways. The study of the history of the United States is a very important study, and it is one that is being carried out by many people in many different ways. The study of the history of the world is a very important study, and it is one that is being carried out by many people in many different ways.



tomac rivers, in search of a schooner in which, it is said, Colonel Richard Thomas traveled between Maryland and Virginia. The schooner was supposed to be awaiting his return, and an effort will be made to capture her and those on board. It was rumored that the schooner was lying in the mouth of the Potomac, and to prevent the possibility of getting information to her, the steamers of the Patuxent river route were seized. The arrest of Col. Thomas was not known at any of the landings on the Patuxent, nor at Fairhaven, though many of his friends knew of his attempt to reach Baltimore, and warned him that he would fall into the hands of the Federal officers. Capt. Weems, of the Mary Washington, thought the schooner returned immediately to the Virginia shore, where, it is not probable she will be found by the Chester, as the shores of the Rappahannock are supplied with efficient batteries. Shortly before twelve o'clock yesterday the steamer George Weems was released and permitted to go on her route.

It was stated yesterday that the pilot of one of the vessels captured by the St. Nicholas was the party who discovered to the police the presence of Col. Thomas on the Mary Washington. The pilot of the brig Monticello was the only one on board, and he declares that he did not do it, for he was not aware that policemen were on board until he was asked by them if he was not one of the prisoners captured on board the brig.

*Presented for Piracy and Treason.*—The grand jury of the United States District Court yesterday presented Richard Thomas, alias "Col. Richard Thomas Zaroony," of the Confederate army, and Captain George W. Hollins, formerly of the United States navy, and now in the service of the Confederate army, for treason and piracy, in capturing the steamer St. Nicholas, from this port, etc. The grand jury also presented several persons who were associated with Richard Thomas in the capture of the above vessel, all of whom continue in custody of the military authorities at Fort McHenry, except Captain Hollins, who has not been captured. It is not known if the general government will surrender the parties in custody to the civil process of the court after indictment has been found by the grand jury, or even at the term of the Circuit Court in November, at which time their cases can be called for trial.

*In the Case of Col. Richard Thomas.*—Captain Kirwan, of the steamer St. Nicholas, his brother and another officer of the boat were recognized in \$1,000 each before Commissioner Hannan, on Monday evening, to appear as witnesses in the United States Court in the case of Col. Richard Thomas, now confined at Fort McHenry on charges of piracy and treason.

*Wholesale Arrests—Capture of Colonel Richard Thomas.*—On Sunday, from information received of the whereabouts of several parties charged with having participated in the riot of the 19th of April, Lieutenant Carmichael, of Colonel Kenly's police, with another, left on a tug boat for Fairhaven, and succeeded in the arrest of Cornelius Green and another.—Colonel Richard Thomas, of St. Mary's, who is alleged to have been engaged in the capture of the St. Nicholas and the three schooners, laden with coal, ice and coffee, got on board the steamer Mary Washington at Millstone landing, on the Patuxent river, for the purpose of coming to this city. When the boat reached Fairhaven the officers got on board

with their prisoners, and among the passengers already on board were the crew of the St. Nicholas and those of the captured schooners. At this point the friends of Col. Thomas remonstrated against his coming to Baltimore, though they were ignorant of the presence of officers on board, but he persisted in his determination, and against all entreaty that could be used he declared that he would come up.—Shortly after the boat left the pilot of the schooner which was laden with coffee informed the officers of the presence of Colonel Thomas, and they at once arrested him. They then drew their pistols and took their positions on the quarter deck to prevent the possibility of escape by the small boats. Col. T. at once determined to leave the boat if possible, but no opportunity was afforded him. Capt. Weems was then ordered to stop at Fort McHenry, and on reaching that point all the prisoners and the witnesses, an aggregate of about twenty men, were landed, but Col. T. was not to be found, and the order was given to push off, after the boat had been thoroughly searched in every part. Just as the boat left the wharf, however, he was found in a bureau in the ladies' cabin, where some of the lady passengers had concealed him, and he too was landed at the Fort. Col. T., as soon as he was arrested, handed his commission to Dr. Edward Johnston, who was on board, and he too was arrested, but at once discharged upon explanation. Col. Forbes and a man named James Tongue were arrested, but there was nothing upon which to hold them, and Tongue showed that he had just received an appointment as light-house keeper from the administration.—Col. Thomas is a son of the late Hon. Richard Thomas, for many years president of the Senate of Maryland, and a nephew of ex-Governor James Thomas.

## OUR SPECIAL WASHINGTON DESPATCHES.

WASHINGTON, July 10, 1861.

### REBEL SUBMES FOR THE CAPTURE OF NORTHERN MERCHANT STEAMERS.

The arrest of the adventurous rebel, Colonel Thomas, by the New Union police of Baltimore, has roused in the rebel cause for the seizure of one of the steamships leaving the port of New York, in the same way the capture of the St. Nicholas, on the Potomac river was effected. But there are others of this gang of steamship pirates at liberty, and it is believed that other attempts will be made to execute their plan to provide war vessels for the use of the rebels. Having no means with which either to buy or build ships, their only hope of getting together a navy is to steal them.

A warning in regard to the contemplated seizure of the California steamers after this fashion was given in the correspondence some weeks ago. It might be well to have a sharp look out kept upon those sailing out of New York.

*AN ARMED EXPEDITION SENT DOWN THE BAY.*—Provost Marshal Kenley yesterday morning ordered the seizure of the steamer Chester, Captain Young, (just as she was firing up for her usual trip to Chestertown,) for the purpose of sending an armed expedition down the Chesapeake Bay to capture a schooner that was supposed to be lying near Fairhaven. The reasons for this movement are







given as follows: Information had been received by the Provost Marshal to the effect that Mr. Richard Thomas, who was arrested on Monday last, had come down the Rappahannock in a schooner, which had been left off the mouth of the Potomac, in charge of a crew, who awaited the return of Mr. Thomas to Baltimore. Mr. Thomas is said to hold a Colonel's commission in the Confederate army, and is alleged to have been the hero of the St. Nicholas adventure. The Chester was run down to the Fort, where an armament of two twenty-four pounders, an artillery company, and a posse of vice-policemen, were placed on board. About 7 o'clock she steamed down the bay. Orders were given to stop any steamers that might have started from Baltimore at an earlier hour, so as to preclude the possibility of the object of the expedition being made known. The result of the expedition is not yet known.

We learn that the prisoner alluded to as Mr. Thomas holds a commission in the Confederate army under the title of Colonel Zaryona. He is retained in the guard-house, and is not held as a prisoner of war, but for piracy and treason.

We presume that his case will be dealt with carefully, inasmuch as any failure to recognize his military character, in his trial or punishment, would of course be followed by retaliation on the part of the Confederate government.

#### SEIZURE OF STEAMERS AT BALTIMORE BY ORDER OF GENERAL BANKS.

BALTIMORE, July 9, 1861.

By order of General Banks Provost Marshal Kenley has taken possession of the steamers Chester and W. L. Weems. The former has been armed and equipped for a cruise down the river and Chesapeake, for the purpose of arresting other parties supposed to have been engaged in the seizure of the St. Nicholas. A police force, under Captain Carmichael, is on board, and also detachments of artillery and infantry.

Vessels bound down the bay have been detained today, by order of General Banks.

A military force is constantly on board the Norfolk steamers.

Frederick Chartard, late of the United States Navy, twenty years in service, distinguished in Nicaragua against Walker; Captain I. N. Sterritt, whose father's name is on Battle Monument, where the National Guard of Philadelphia are now stationed; Joseph N. Barney, grandson of Commodore Barney, all former officers of the United States Navy, and all of Maryland, have not only resigned, but accepted positions in the rebel forces.

Colonel Magruder, in command at Big Bethel, has been so absorbed in his military occupations, that he has no for three months communicated with his wife's family, who are now in Baltimore. His wife is a native of Baltimore, where the entire family are highly esteemed. Mrs. Magruder and three children are at present in Germany.

Lieutenant Pinckney, late of the United States Navy, of Maryland, has not yet accepted a place in the rebel forces.

Colonel Thomas, the French lady, is kept closely guarded at Fort McHenry. Refreshments are sent to him by friends.

Reports to-night from the fort state that everything is quiet.

By order of Secretary Cameron the limits of the Police Board have been extended.

Thomas has a commission in the rebel army as Colonel, under the name of Searnone. An expedition has been sent down the bay to capture a brig, on which he is reported to have a force for hostile purposes.

BALTIMORE, July 9, 1861.

Provost Marshal Kenly, having learned that a suspicious schooner, supposed to be in the employ of the piratical party who seized the St. Nicholas, some of whom were captured yesterday, was in the bay awaiting the return of Captain Thomas, alias "the French lady," this morning took possession of the steamer Chester, just as she was about leaving on her regular trip for the Eastern Shore. The passengers were put off and soldiers took their place, and she proceeded down the bay to make the capture.

Captain Thomas and his party came from Fredericksburg in this steamer.

Shortly after the seizure of the steamer Chester, the steamers George L. Weems and Mary Washington, which had just started out, were required to return by the government officers. This measure was precautionary in apprehension that an attempt might be made to seize them.

We are informed upon undoubted authority that the statement, in the local columns of the *Sun* yesterday, in reference to the treatment of the "political prisoners" at Fort McHenry, is erroneous.—Col. ZARVONA has never been offered "the privilege of walking through the grounds for exercise at stated times." On the contrary, neither he nor Lieut. ALEXANDER has been permitted to leave the guard-house, except to cross the yard and return in custody of an armed sentinel—which occupies but a few minutes. Neither of them is recognized or treated as a prisoner of war. Col. ZARVONA has demanded his release, on parole, of Major-General BANKS and Major-General DIX, both of whom refused it. At night he is locked up in a cell which is partially underground. Maj. MORRIS offered, the day before yesterday, to leave him at night in the guard-house, if he would sign a paper obligating himself not to escape. Regarding this as too restricted a confidence to repose in the honor of an officer of his rank, he declined to accede to the terms proposed.

We are informed also that, if it be true that Marshal BONIFANT is allowed a dollar a day for the support of the prisoners, they have no benefit from it whatever. They are allowed only soldiers' rations, which they cannot eat—and are therefore dependent upon their friends for food.



1. The first of these is the fact that the majority of the population of the United States is now living in urban areas. This is a result of the process of urbanization, which has been going on since the beginning of the 20th century. The process of urbanization is the movement of people from rural areas to urban areas. This is a result of the fact that urban areas offer more opportunities for employment and education than rural areas do. The process of urbanization has led to the growth of large cities and the decline of small towns and villages. This has had a major impact on the way of life in the United States. The majority of the population now lives in cities, and this has led to a number of changes in the way of life. For example, the majority of the population now lives in multi-story apartment buildings or houses, and this has led to a change in the way of life. The majority of the population now lives in cities, and this has led to a number of changes in the way of life. For example, the majority of the population now lives in multi-story apartment buildings or houses, and this has led to a change in the way of life.



It may, perhaps, be as well to state in this connection, that we have also been positively assured that four Colonels of the Federal army have been selected by the Confederates, whose treatment will be regulated by that of Col. ZARVONA, and whose fate will be the same as his.

[From the New York Tribune.

### THE "FRENCH LADY'S" EXPLOITS.

#### Narrative of the Seizures Made in the Chesapeake.

The following statement has been made to us by Mr. E. Case, mate of the schooner Margaret, loaded with coal, bound from Alexandria, Va., to New York, and which was seized by the St. Nicholas, after the latter had been taken possession of by Capt. Thomas and his pirates. Mr. Case reached this city last evening.

On Saturday, the 29th day of June, we passed Smith's Point, at the mouth of the Potomac; we saw the steamer St. Nicholas come out of a river on the Virginia shore, called Cone River. She passed us, and paid no attention to us, we thinking all the while it was rather strange for her to be sailing down the Bay, as it was out of her course. Her object, we soon found out, was to seize the brig Monticello, and the schooner Mary Pierce, which were bound up the Bay, as we were going out.

In a few minutes the St. Nicholas headed up the Bay again; she came up and passed us; then turned again and bore down upon us; Captain Hollins hailed us, and asked what schooner it was. We told him the schooner Margaret. He then inquired what it was loaded with, and we told him. He then sung out that we were a prize to the Southern Confederacy. The St. Nicholas was then run close alongside; then about twenty five armed men jumped on board and drove all hands on board the steamer. When I got on deck, and before they drove me into the hold, I looked around me, and who should I see but the traitor, Capt. Thomas Skinner, formerly master of the steamer Jamestown.

They then took the schooner in tow, and took us up the Rappahannock river as far as the depth of the water would permit. That night they came again alongside, and coaled the St. Nicholas from our cargo. Next morning we started for Fredericksburg, and took the Mary Pierce in tow, and towed her within fifteen miles of the town. At dark, on the 30th, we came alongside of the dock; they kept us on board all night. Early the next morning we were marched out, closely guarded by soldiers, and were put on the cars for Richmond, not having eaten anything worth speaking of for twenty-four hours. At every station we stopped we were hooted, and called all the vile names the populace could lay their tongues to.

We arrived at Richmond on Monday, July 1, at 10 A. M., and were taken direct to jail;

we were followed by about fifteen hundred people who were hooting; yelling, and abusing us at the top of their voices. I expected momentarily to be shot. We were locked up till 6½ A. M., July 4. After going to the Mayor's office and obtaining a permit to pass out of Virginia, the whole of us—thirty eight in number—were permitted to depart, but not before we were asked to go into the army and take the oath of allegiance to the Southern Confederacy. This we most emphatically denied.

We were then taken back again to Fredericksburgh; not one of us had a cent of money. At 1 o'clock Friday morning, 5th July, we were put on board a boat and carried and landed down the river at a place called Mahassen; we staid and slept in a barn there. The people here were kind to us and gave all of us something to eat. On Saturday morning we started and walked twenty-three miles before we could reach the banks of the Potomac, at the head of the Cone River.

Capt. Kirwan, the late Captain of the St. Nicholas, got a wagon and drove four miles, when he managed to procure a schooner that would take us across the following morning. We started and walked the next morning for the boat, which was of the Confederate Army, and named the Georgiana, owned by Colonel Thomas; Col. T. was on board with a crew of about twelve in number. We sailed for Point Lookout, on the Maryland shore, and landed at 5 o'clock P. M. on Sunday. Directly we landed she started and sailed up the Chesapeake Bay.

We had nothing to eat on board the Georgiana, and started to walk the 30 miles to Mill Stone wharf, on the Patuxent river, to meet the steamer Mary Washington. We reached there about 6 o'clock in the morning, Monday. The Captain of the Mary Washington, with great kindness, gave us all a passage to Baltimore, and furnished us all with a splendid dinner.—At Mill Stone wharf who should come aboard but Col. Thomas, the same man who seized the steamer St. Nicholas. On our way to Baltimore we stopped at a landing called Fair Haven, there two United States officers came on board, and were informed that he was aboard. They soon discovered him, but did not inform him who they were.

Before we arrived at North Point, Colonel Thomas imagined that somebody was on the look-out for him, and endeavored to lower the quarter-boat of the steamer, but he was caught in the act by the officers, and stopped. He drew a pistol, and the officers drew their revolvers; they told him they would take him, dead or alive. He called out for his "boys," and by that the officers found out who the rebels were that were with him.

We stopped at Fort McHenry to land the prisoners, and Col. Thomas was nowhere to be found. They hunted for him over an hour; finally they found him stowed away in a bureau drawer in the ladies-cabin. He and the rest of the rebels were marched inside the fort.

The Sergeant belonging to the rebel army, and who guarded the jail in Richmond, in







which we were locked up, told me there were not more than 3,000 men in Richmond.— According to appearance I should judge that the men were half dead. I never saw a more miserable lot of men. Along the entire route to Richmond, and again I did not see more than 5,000 soldiers. By the information I received in Richmond the number of Confederate soldiers in Virginia is overrated immensely; I was told there were not more than 75,000.

I would state, to satisfy the families of the crews of the different vessels that have been seized, that those who are not detained for witnesses will be returned to their homes immediately.

## THE PIRACY OF THE ST. NICHOLAS.

Captain (or Colonel) Thomas, who enjoys the credit of being "the French lady" who managed the recent seizure of the steamer St. Nicholas, of Baltimore, has been captured under singular circumstances, and is now a prisoner at Fort McHenry with others who are supposed to have aided him in that brilliant exploit. The Baltimore American gives the subjoined particulars of their capture:

Lieut. Thomas H. Carmichael, of the Middle District Police, and Mr. John Horner, of this city, captured on Monday afternoon no less an important personage than Captain Thomas, of St. Mary's county, alias the "French Lady," whose exploit in seizing the steamer St. Nicholas a short time since, while in the Patuxent river, was so boastfully proclaimed by the sensational journals as a "brilliant exploit." The particulars of the affair, as narrated by a passenger on board the steamer Mary Washington, were as follows:

Lieut. Carmichael, with Mr. Horner, left this city on Sunday morning in a small sloop for Fair Haven, on Pocomoke Bay, near the lower portion of Anne Arundel county, for the purpose of arresting a certain Neal Green, a noted barber, doing business on Pratt street, who is charged with being a participant in the assault on the Massachusetts regiment on the 19th of April, and with other offenses. Owing to bad weather the sloop did not reach the place of destination until about seven o'clock on Monday morning. On landing the officers proceeded to a house in the vicinity and arrested Green, who had designed remaining there for some time, but proposed sending his wife to this city by the steamer Mary Washington, which usually stops at Fair Haven.

The officers, with Green and his wife, took passage on the Mary Washington without any knowledge of those on board. Shortly after leaving the Lieutenant entered into conversation with a number of passengers, and ascertained that Capt. Kirwan, with the engineer and another officer of the steamer St. Nicholas, as well as others who had been taken prisoners when the steamer was seized by Thomas, the "French Lady," and his party, had been released by them and were returning to this city on the Mary Washington. The officers also ascertained that among the passengers on board were seven or eight of the captives, with Captain Thomas himself, who doubtless exulted in the success attending their first achievement, were disposed to make another venture, probably on the steamer Columbia or some other steamer plying on the Maryland rivers.

As soon as satisfactory information on this point was obtained and each one of the party recognized beyond doubt, Lieut. Carmichael ordered Capt. Mason L. Weaver, the commander of the Mary Washington, to proceed, on reaching this harbor, to land the passengers at Fort McHenry. The direction was given while the steamer was near Annapolis. Shortly after, while Lieut. Carmichael and Mr. Horner were in the ladies' cabin, they were approached by Thomas, who desired to know by what authority the order had been given for the steamer to touch at Fort McHenry. The lieutenant informed him that it was through authority vested in him by Col. Kenly, Provost Marshal of Baltimore. On hearing this Thomas drew his pistol, and, calling his men around him, threatened to seize and throw Carmichael and Horner overboard. The latter drew their revolvers and defied the other party to proceed to execute their threats. The utmost confusion prevailed in the cabin for a short time, the ladies' passengers running out screaming; but the other male passengers stood up with Carmichael and Horner and compelled Thomas and his companions to remain quiet. After a short

stand on the boat and the steamer approached the Fort wharf, when the lieutenant went up and informed General Banks of his important capture.

The General instantly ordered out a company of infantry, who marched to the steamer and secured all the necessary, excepting Thomas, for whom search was made for an hour and a half. He was then found concealed in the delivery of a bureau in the ladies' cabin, in the aft part of the boat. He and the other prisoners were then marched to the fort and placed in confinement. The witnesses, some ten or twelve in number, were also detained at the fort during last night.

Of the prisoners Thomas was the only one who had any baggage, he having a small valise with a bundle of letters. It was contained a full uniform of a Zouave, including cap, a number of letters and papers, among which was said to be a commission in the Confederate army. The names of those arrested with him could not be ascertained last evening. Neal Green was brought up by Lieut. Carmichael and taken to the Middle Police Station, where he was locked up for examination. He confessed that he felt this city on account of having committed an assault on a soldier.

A despatch dated at Baltimore yesterday says:

"Provost Marshal Kenly, having learned that a suspicious schooner—supposed to be in the employ of the piratical party who seized the St. Nicholas, and some of whom were captured yesterday—is now in the bay, probably awaiting the return of Captain Thomas, alias the 'French Lady,' this morning took possession of the steamer Chester just as she was about leaving on her regular trip to the Eastern Shore. The passengers were put off, and a squad of police and soldiers took their place, and she proceeded down the bay to make the capture. Captain Thomas and his party came from Fredericksburg in this schooner."

## UNSUCCESSFUL PURSUIT OF PIRATES.

From the Baltimore American of yesterday.

We learn that the steamer Chester was taken possession of at her wharf at 4 o'clock yesterday morning, by order of Provost Marshal Kenly, for an expedition to the mouth of the Potomac which admitted of no delay. The Chester was firing up for her usual trip to Chestertown, and was ready for immediate service. She proceeded directly to Fort McHenry, where Gen. Banks had in readiness an armament of two 21-pounders, an artillery company, an infantry company, and a posse of police officers, under Lieut. Carmichael and officer Horner, which were soon placed on board, and she steamed down the river.

Information was received on Monday night that Col. Richard Thomas, (the French lady,) with his seven companions, had reached Fair Haven from a schooner, which had brought them down the Rappahannock, and was waiting off the mouth of the Potomac for some purpose in connexion with Col. Thomas's visit to Baltimore. Col. Kenly, therefore, immediately resolved to attempt her capture, and, being unable to engage a steamer with the essential secrecy, seized the Chester, as above stated. He had also reason to believe that persons in the city were in collusion with Col. Thomas, whatever his designs may have been.

The Chester did not get off until near 7 o'clock, and returned at midnight, having failed in capturing the schooner. She went about six miles up the Patuxent river to Millstone Landing, and ascertained that the schooner had been there during the morning, having on board about thirty men, all well armed with bright muskets. The steamer remained at the landing a couple of hours and then returned to the city. The gunboat Benwood was overhauled and put on the track of the schooner, and she will have to keep a sharp lookout to escape capture.

The following are copies of papers found on Col. Thomas at the time of his arrest at Fort McHenry. It will be seen that it was his intention to pass whilst in Baltimore under the assumed name of Col. R. T. Zaroona:

*The Commonwealth of Virginia to Richard Thomas Zaroona, greeting:*

Know you, that from special trust and confidence reposed in your fidelity, courage, and good conduct, our Governor, in pursuance of the authority vested in him by an ordinance of the Convention of the State of Virginia, doth commission you a colonel in the active volunteer forces of the State, to rank as such from the first day of July, eighteen hundred and sixty-one.

In testimony whereof I have herewith signed my name, as Governor, and caused the seal of the Commonwealth to be affixed this second day of July, eighteen hundred and sixty-one.

JOHN LETCHER.

continued





*City of Richmond, Virginia, to wit:*

This day appeared before me, Joseph Mayo, Mayor of the city of Richmond, Richard Thomas Zaroona, and qualified to the within commission by taking the oath prescribed by law.

Given under my hand this second day of July, A. D. 1861.

JOSEPH MAYO, Mayor.

*Executive Department,  
Richmond, July 3, 1861.*

Permit Col. R. T. Zaroona, of the Potomac Zouaves, to pass at will free over the roads and rivers of this Commonwealth upon his own certificate, and upon like certificate pass his men and baggage.

All officers, civil and military, will respect him and give him such facilities as he may require, in their power to afford.

By order.

S. BASSETT FRENCH,

Aid de-Camp to Governor of Virginia.

Approved: JOHN LETCHER.

Col. Thomas also had with him a letter of credit on a Baltimore house for the sum of one thousand dollars, declaring that the check of Col. Zaroona to that amount would be duly honored by Messrs. R. H. Maury & Co., of Richmond.

Col. Thomas is a son of the late Hon. Richard Thomas, of St. Mary's county, for many years President of the Maryland Senate; and a nephew of ex-Governor Jas. Thomas. We have not ascertained the names of the parties arrested with him, but it is believed that none of them are Baltimoreans.

**ARREST ON BOARD THE MARY WASHINGTON.**—We learn that Mr. Richard Thomas, of St. Mary's county, and five or six other persons were arrested on board the steamer Mary Washington as she was coming up the bay yesterday. The charges against them are believed to be that they were concerned in the seizure of the steamer St. Nicholas a few days since. The party were coming up to the city as passengers, when they were pointed out by two spies on board the boat, and as she reached the wharf at Fort McHenry, the boat rounded to and they were delivered up to the officer in command.

**Presented for Piracy.**—The persons associated with Richard Thomas in the capture of the steamer St. Nicholas, who were presented for piracy by the grand jury of the United States District Court at the same time with Col. Thomas, are named Johnson, Fitzpatrick and Higgins.

**Released from Fort McHenry.**—Mr. John D. Hebb, of St. Mary's county, who was taken prisoner with Col. Richard Thomas from on board the steamboat Mary Washington, and confined at Fort McHenry, was yesterday released from imprisonment.

**RELEASED.**—Mr. John L. Hebb, who has been confined in Fort McHenry since the arrest of Colonel Richard Thomas, was released on Saturday last, by order of General Banks. Mr. Hebb is a resident of St. Mary's county, and was a passenger on the Mary Washington on the trip on which Colonel Thomas was taken prisoner, and on reaching Fort McHenry was arrested because he exhibited much familiarity with Col. Thomas on the way up the bay. He had known Col. Thomas for many years, but was not one of the Colonel's party on the occasion.





## Colonel Zarvona.

PARTICULARS OF A REMARKABLE LIFE.

The Port Tobacco (Md.) Times adds some interesting particulars of the life of the late Colonel Richard Thomas, or Colonel Zarvona, whose death on the 17th instant has been briefly noted. It says:

The deceased was a son of Richard Thomas, of St. Mary's, formerly President of the Senate of Maryland, and also a nephew of Governor James Thomas. He was of a roving and adventurous disposition, and had passed much of his life abroad, having been in nearly all parts of the world. At one time he served under Garibaldi, and it was whilst in this service that he assumed the name of Zarvona, under which he ever afterward went.

In the early part of the war he became quite conspicuous for his connection with the capture of the steamer St. Nicholas, a favorite Potomac boat. The circumstances of the capture were fully published at the time by all the papers, but as a reminiscence we republish the following account taken by us at the time from the Baltimore Exchange of July 2, 1861. The Exchange was afterward suppressed and subsequently reissued as the GAZETTE. We quote:

The St. Nicholas, on her last trip from Baltimore, took on board as a passenger a French lady of dark complexion, of rather masculine features, but of quiet manners. There were also a number of passengers who were proceeding to different points on the Potomac. At Point Lookout two more passengers were also taken on board. Soon after this, in the middle of the night, the French woman having retired for a few moments to her stateroom, suddenly emerged, her wig and petticoats doffed, in full military costume, with revolvers and cutlass by her side. Twenty-five passengers drew revolvers at the same time, and in a trice officers and crew were made prisoners. The boat was put in the charge of the the Point Lookout passengers, who proved to be retired navy officers. The steamer was then run into C&e river, on the Virginia side, where the passengers, who were treated with great civility, were all landed, and a company of one hundred Tennesseans were taken aboard. The St. Nicholas then headed up the river in search of the Pawnee, it being part of the programme of this gallant young Colonel, for such he is, to run into the Pawnee, take her by surprise, leap on board and take her. Not being able to find the Pawnee, the St. Nicholas turned and steamed for the L. Between Smith's Point and the Rappahannock the steamer fell in at different times with three vessels, one loaded with coffee, one with coal and one with ice. These were all captured and taken to Fredericksburg, where the heroes of this achievement were received with military honors.

Afterward Colonel Zarvona, with that recklessness which characterized him, attempted to go to Baltimore on one of the Patuxent steamers, but being recognized by some United States officers who boarded the boat at Fair Haven, an attempt was made to arrest him, but he was not to be found. The boat was ordered to stop at Fort McHenry, when a more thorough search being made he was finally discovered concealed in a bureau in the ladies' cabin. He was kept in close confinement until removed to Fort Lafayette, where he was kept for a long time. It was said that he was confined in a dark dungeon and otherwise treated with great and unnecessary cruelty. His health finally gave way, and he was released. He then went abroad and remained until the close of the war. He never recovered from the effects of his imprisonment, and for some time past his health had been very precarious. He was a singular man, and aged about forty.

The Beacon, in an editorial notice of the death of Colonel Zarvona, says:

"Though of wandering habit and somewhat erratic disposition, the Colonel's integrity of character, keen sense of honor, urbanity of manner and chivalric bearing, won him many warm friends and admirers, of which number the writer is proud to record him-







[For the Baltimore Sun.]

## The Capture of the Steamer St. Nicholas.

*Messrs. Editors:* I have read one or two articles in the newspapers, copied from the Port Tobacco Times, which, in alluding to the death of the late gallant Col. Thomas, or Zarvona, are calculated to lead to an erroneous idea of the capture of the St. Nicholas and of the officers of the Confederate navy concerned therewith. Having been an eye-witness I vouch for the truth of the following account:

Captain George N. Hollins, in June, 1851, was in command of the United States frigate *Susquehanna*, in the Mediterranean squadron. He was ordered to the United States, and arrived in Boston June 6, and immediately tendered his resignation. He was not a retired officer. June 18 he left Baltimore in the steamer *Mary Washington* for Richmond, via the Potomac. On reaching St. Mary's county he went to the estate of a prominent gentleman, when he (H.) suggested the idea, which originated entirely with himself, of seizing the St. Nicholas and manning her with volunteers, and then proceeding to capture the United States steamer *Pawnee*, Captain Ward, a vessel that annoyed the boats crossing the Potomac to Virginia. The plan or proposition was discouraged owing to the number of Union men thereabouts. Hollins crossed the Potomac in an open boat, and after landing was driven by a gentleman in an open buggy to Fredericksburg, where he arrived at 6 P. M. Next morning he went to Richmond, and immediately on his arrival reported to the Secretary of the Confederate States navy and received his commission as captain in the C. S. N. He then went to the bureau of details, and stating there many of his old friends, openly and unsuspectingly stated his views and plans, which were discouraged and he was told "that Mr. Mallory would never agree to them, but that the Governor would." He got Mallory's permission to make application to the Governor. He immediately proceeded to Governor Letcher and made his proposition. It was promptly agreed to and the Governor placed at Hollins's disposal a draft for one thousand dollars, for the purpose of procuring arms, &c., from the North.

Governor Letcher then and there introduced to Capt. Hollins Col. Thomas, or Zarvona, as a person who could be trusted to proceed North and procure the arms, or to transact business requiring secrecy and dispatch.

That same afternoon Hollins returned to Fredericksburg, and from thence to Point Lookout, passing across through Maryland with his two sons and seven men, in an open wagon through a pouring rain, to Point Lookout, where the St. Nicholas touched on her way to Washington. After reaching the Maryland side Hollins signed the draft for a thousand dollars and gave it to Col. Thomas, or Zarvona, who took it and proceeded to Baltimore and Philadelphia for arms, &c.

Capt. Hollins directed Col. T. to try and get as many men as possible to join him on his return to Point Lookout, where they agreed to meet. On the night appointed Capt. Hollins and party went on board the St. Nicholas at Point Lookout, where he at once perceived Col. Thomas in the disguise of a French lady. He had taken the precaution of putting the arms in large trunks such as milliners use for packing. A signal and plan of operations were agreed on. In a few minutes after leaving the wharf Hol-

lins gave the preconcerted signal, when the trunks were thrown open, the men arming themselves, Col. T. having gone in the meantime to change his dress.

Capt. H. seized a Sharpe's rifle and pair of pistols, ran to the wheel-house, and laying his hands on the captain's shoulder, told him he captured him and his boat in the name of the Confederate States, and ordered him, the captain, (Kirwin was his name, I think,) to take the boat over to Cone river, which he refused to do, and Capt. Hollins told him he would burn the boat if he did not. He said he was not a pilot; but Hollins said he knew he could pilot her over; but another man was found who did pilot her to Cone river. An hour or two after landing there they were joined by a body of Confederate soldiers, under command of Capt. Lewis. C. S. navy.

At that point Hollins read in the Baltimore papers of the death of Capt. Ward, of the *Pawnee*, he having been killed while shelling at Matthias Point. All the gunboats had gone up to Washington that the officers might attend Ward's funeral, leaving the Potomac comparatively unguarded.

Deeming it unsafe to remain where he was, Hollins decided to take the steamboat to Fredericksburg, and ran out in the Chesapeake bay, where he saw a fine, large brig; he ran alongside of her, when she proved to be the brig *Monticello*, from Rio, loaded with coffee. He captured the brig, put Lieut. Robert Minor, a meritorious and gallant young officer, (and never a retired one,) in command, with orders to take her to Fredericksburg. The coffee was most acceptable in Richmond, where it was already a scarcity and a luxury. In an hour or two Hollins captured another prize, a schooner laden with ice, from Boston, bound to Washington. An officer and prize crew were put on board of her and she was sent up to Fredericksburg.

The schooner got to Richmond just in time. The sick and wounded in the hospitals were in sore need of the ice.

The coal of the St. Nicholas was nearly exhausted, and Hollins had just ordered the engineers to fire up with the cabin furniture or any other availables when another vessel hove in sight. It proved to be a brig loaded with coal for Boston. She was also captured. After filling up with coal he took her in tow and went up to Fredericksburg, being fearful of remaining longer with his charge and not being possessed of any means of defense.

The coffee sold well, but the *Monticello*, belonging to the well-known firm of Spence & Reid, of Baltimore, was returned to them, as the Confederacy took no prizes from Baltimoreans.

The foregoing is a correct account of the capture of the St. Nicholas. The credit (if there be any) is equally due to Hollins and his party as to Col. Thomas. Nor do we wish to diminish one iota of the credit justly due to Col. Zarvona or Thomas, that brave and gallant young officer "who being dead yet speaketh," but that the Port Tobacco Times having said he was joined by a party of retired navy officers, we feel compelled to render a tardy justice to all.

Neither Capt. Hollins nor Lieut. Robert Minor, nor Lieut. Sims, nor Lieut. Thorburn, who accompanied them, ever were retired in any service, and let me say, gentlemen, that even if they had been, an examination of the Navy Register of the present year would prove to any judge that there is as good material registered there as graced the active list of any naval service in the world.







## Col. Richard Thomas Zarvonn.

THE TRUE STORY OF THE CAPTURE OF THE  
STEAMER ST. NICHOLAS.

[For the Baltimore Sun.] 1875

The Warrenton (Va.) True Index of last week contains an article purporting to be a true statement of the capture of the steamer St. Nicholas, plying between Baltimore and Washington, in the early part of the late civil war, which is so very erroneous and at the same time unjust to the leading spirit in the affair, Col. Richard Thomas Zarvonn, whose death in St. Mary's county, Md., has been recently announced, that a brief recital of the facts in the case seems necessary in vindication of the "truth of history." The True Index referring to the capture of the St. Nicholas, says:

"Depositions which were taken to be used in a suit pending in Richmond brought by the real captors to recover a fund originating in the capture from the depository and distributee, excited the belief that 'Zarvonn' played an active part in this truly brilliant exploit."

"The credit of conceiving it belongs to Com. Hollins, of Baltimore, and the successful execution of it to him, assisted by Lieutenant Charles Sims, of Fauquier, Lieutenant Thorburn, of Fredericksburg, and the late Lieutenant Robert D. Minor, of Richmond."

It then says that Commodore Hollins suggested the stationing of a detachment of "old salts" and some infantry, "supported by a section of artillery," in the mouth of Cone river, and that "upon the steamer next started on her accustomed trip between Baltimore and Washington," Commodore took passage, and when her

engine-plank was thrown out at Cone river the Confederates, revolvers in hand, rushed pell-mell on board before her engines could be reversed, overpowered officers and crew, and took the steamer as lawful prize. Commodore Hollins at once assuming command."

Now, the true story of the capture of the St. Nicholas is too well known in Baltimore, where some of those who took part in the enterprise still reside, for such a statement as the above to pass uncontradicted. Though it is true that Commodore Hollins took part in the affair and subsequently commanded the captured steamer, he was not the originator of the enterprise. A letter just published by ex-Governor Letcher, of Virginia, gives a true version of the affair as far as the letter goes, showing the whole conception of the bold enterprise to have been with Zarvonn, and that the taking possession of the St. Nicholas was only a preliminary step looking to the capture of the United States war steamer Pawnee, operating in the Potomac.

Gov. Letcher says that Col. Richard Thomas arrived in Richmond, Va., shortly after the breaking out of the war, accompanied by Capt. G. W. Alexander, of Baltimore, and they at once tendered their services to the Confederacy through the Governor. A few days after his arrival there Thomas stated to the Governor that he had a plan for the capture of the Pawnee, a federal man-of-war then operating in the Potomac near Aquia Creek, which was causing considerable annoyance to the Confederate forces stationed there and at Matthias's Point. The day after the suggestion was made a council was held, in which Commodore Matthew F. Maury participated, at which Thomas unfolded

his plan, which, as Gov. Letcher says, "was to go to Baltimore, unite with him ten or a dozen recruits, sailing young men, take passage on the St. Nicholas, and at a given signal take control of her, and depose the officers. Thomas assuming the command. The St. Nicholas was said to be the mail boat on which were carried the mails of the Pawnee, and was in the habit of running alongside of her in the night and discharging the mail. This was the scheme, and we all considered it feasible."

The question was then discussed as to the manner of executing the plan, when it was agreed that the Confederate Secretary of the Navy was to be called on to furnish the necessary number of Colt's navy pistols and a supply of ammunition, cutlasses, &c., to arm as many men as the vessel could carry. All these things were promptly furnished and sent on to Fredericksburg. The Secretary of War ordered General Holmes, commanding at Fredericksburg, to select six hundred of his reliable troops, who should be sent to the mouth of Cone river by an hour to be agreed upon, and who should carry with them the arms sent up by the Secretary of the Navy. The St. Nicholas was to be there and receive so many of the troops as could be used in boarding and securing the Pawnee.

Meantime, in planning the affair, Commodore G. N. Hollins had been consulted, and it was agreed that Thomas, who was duly commissioned, should proceed to Baltimore, whilst Hollins, who had also received a Confederate commission, was to go to Point Lookout, there to await the arrival of Thomas on the St. Nicholas from Baltimore. In pursuance of this plan Thomas came to this city, and in a few hours procured ten enlisted men, and from one of these the following further account is derived:

These young men were informed that they were to undertake a dangerous mission in the interest of the Confederacy, though the particulars of the hazardous enterprise on which they were about to embark was not communicated to them at the time, with perhaps a single exception. Thomas, who was a small, neat man, disguised himself in female attire, and all things being ready, on the 28th of June, 1861, took passage on the St. Nicholas for Washington, registering as "Madam LaForte," having with him several trunks, supposed to be the make-up of a lady's wardrobe, but really containing Colt's revolvers, breach-loading rifles and terribly long knives, with which to arm his crew when the opportune moment arrived. The men enlisted in his service appeared and took passage on the steamer as "harvest hands" in quest of employment in the grain fields along the Potomac, which were now ripening. The vessel having steamed around to the mouth of the Potomac and made a landing at Point Lookout, Commodore Hollins, his two sons, Captain G. W. Alexander and a man named Samuel Tatem boarded the St. Nicholas, their destination ostensibly being Washington city, though really it was part of the arrangement, as above stated, with Thomas that Hollins and Alexander should meet him at this point.

When Hollins made his appearance in the cabin he failed for some time to recognize Thomas, but observing that the ladies were eyeing somewhat suspiciously an elegantly dressed "female," who was sitting some distance from the others, he approached and recognized the hero of the enterprise. This was at 1 o'clock at night, and the vessel having moved off from the landing, the men who had shipped in the enterprise were duly informed of what was on hand.





and directed to repair to the cabin, where they found Thomas in full zouave uniform, who quickly opened his trunks and distributed the arms, and placed the men at their posts, which Hollins and himself waited upon the deck of the boat, informed him of the course of affairs, and demanded its surrender, based on a full understanding of the case, was complied with. At this point John E. [unclear] Baltimore pilot, who was one of the ten [unclear] men, and the only one of the party of ten [unclear] had previously a knowledge of the object of [unclear]

Commodore Hollins was the bearer of intelligence to Thomas of the frustration of the plan for the capture of the Pawnee, for only the day previous, while engaged in shelling the Confederate forces opposite Matthias Point, the captain of the man-of-war had been killed by a Confederate rifleman, and the vessel had steamed up to Washington, taking the body of the dead commander. The newly-installed pilot of the St. Nicholas was then directed to head for the mouth of Cone river, which was reached at two o'clock in the morning, where about thirty of Gen. Holmes's command were taken on board. But the True Index is in error in stating that there was a section of artillery present, or that there was a "rush of Confederates, revolvers in hand," on board, for the vessel had been captured an hour before, and was then in command of Commodore Hollins, supported by Col. Thomas and the men enlisted in Baltimore. The St. Nicholas then steamed down the bay, seizing several merchantmen, which were towed up the Rappahannock to Fredericksburg, Va., and the cargoes there landed.

When Thomas returned to Richmond Gov. Letcher states that he was commissioned colonel in the Confederate service, and thinking the Northern people had become exceedingly bitter against him because of his participation in the capture of the St. Nicholas, at his request his name was changed by an act of the Virginia Legislature from Richard Thomas to Richard Thomas Zarvona. In the letter above quoted from, ex-Governor Letcher pays a high tribute to Col. Zarvona as a most interesting and extraordinary man, possessed of a very fine intellect, greatly improved by cultivation, and as an officer brave as the bravest, cool, sagacious and intrepid.

Zarvona had resided much in France and other parts of Europe prior to the war.

Captain Alexander, who figured in the origin of the affair as above, when last heard from was at Memphis, Tenn., where during the yellow fever scourge two years ago, as an officer of the St. Andrew's Society, (he being of Scotch descent,) he stood shoulder to shoulder with the most devoted in serving and saving the victims of the pestilence.

Commodore Hollins, as our citizens know, is now an officer of the City Court of Baltimore, having willingly accepted the position when tendered him by his friend, the late Judge Scott.





## A CORSAIR OF THE CHESAPEA.

Col. Richard Thomas Zarvona of Mattapony, and the Famous Capture of the St. Nicholas.

In the days when the Popish lords of Baltimore ruled over the fair province of Maryland and held their vice-regal court in the city of Annapolis, it was the custom of the wealthy planters, after spending the gay season in town, to retire to their mansions on their plantations during the hot months of the year, where they continued the hospitality which had given Annapolis the reputation of being the gayest city in America. My Lord Baltimore would himself set the fashion. Leaving the Governor's house with a large retinue of servants, he would take to his boat, and retire, wind and tide willing, to the groves of Mattapony.

Mattapony was one of the most famous country seats in the colony. Originally an Indian village, it became a Jesuit outpost and then the home of Counsellor Henry Sewell. During the days when that firebrand Coode threw the colony into civil war, Col. Darnell and Sewell had held the old house against him for days, and then it had seen Charles, the third Lord Baltimore, come riding with whip and spur from St. Inegoes a-courting the beautiful daughter of the house. The wedding that followed was a very grand affair, and for many a long year afterwards Mattapony was the favorite country seat of the Baltimores, until during the life of Frederick, the last and most dissolute of them, it passed out of their hands and came about a century ago into the possession of the Thomas family, than whom, as the saying is, no family of bluer blood lived in all Saint Mary's. The mansion was a very long brick building, with vast verandas, grown old and gray with time. It was built upon a knoll, a park of primeval trees stretching away on every side, falling now into little valleys and again crowning knoll after knoll in the distance, while in the dales could be seen the glimmer of the sunlight as it fell upon a lake or pond. From the great porch to the shore of the Patuxent stretched a beautiful old-fashioned garden five acres in extent, with its gravelled walks and hedges almost buried beneath the flowers. And then the splendid harbor formed by the Patuxent just before it enters the bay lay before you, and beyond that the waters of the Chesapeake flashed in the sunlight for miles, until they were lost in the distance.

Such was Mattapony for many years before and at the outbreak of the civil war, one of the loveliest old places on the western shore. When the shadow of that great struggle fell over the land, the slave-holding gentry of Saint Mary's and the lower counties were heart and soul for the Southern cause, and none were more so than Col. Thomas of Mattapony. His ancestors had stood shoulder to shoulder on the day the Maryland line made its famous charge at the battle of Long Island, and the same rebel blood that flowed in their veins flowed in those of the colonel's son, Col. Richard Thomas, or Zarvona, as he was afterwards called. Young Thomas had become noted, even when he was a mere boy, among the hard-riding, hard-drinking young planters of St. Mary's, for his reckless courage and dash. He was always the first in at the death, a splendid sailor, and a dead shot; but even the exciting sports of the planters lost some of their interest when he read of the exploits of Garibaldi, who was at that time startling Europe. They stirred the spirit of adventure in young Thomas, which finally became so strong that when he was barely nineteen years old he left Mattapony, journeyed to Europe, and threw in his lot with the Italian patriot. The history of his adventures in the Garibaldian wars reads almost like a romance; but I must hurry on to the time when he drew his sword for the South.

A short time after the outbreak of the war a gentleman, dressed in the height of fashion, with a waist so small that it might have been the envy of many a belle, a slight and slender figure and boyish face, called on Gov. Letcher of Virginia and tendered his services to the Confederacy. It was Col. Richard Thomas Zarvona, for such was the name by which he had become known in the Italian campaigns of Garibaldi. His services were gladly accepted, and Col. Zarvona determined to signalize his return to his country by an act of daring which up to that time had hardly been equalled in the progress of the war.

His old friends in Saint Mary's at the beginning of the war had kept up constant communication with the Virginia shore, but the Union authorities soon determined to stop this blockade running, and first one and then another gunboat patrolled the river, until there was hardly a mile from Point Lookout to Washington that was not thoroughly guarded. The most famous of these vessels was the Federal man-of-war *Pawnee*, operating near Acquia Creek and Matthias Point, giving the Confederates immense trouble and annoyance. In a few days Col. Zarvona had formed his







plan and was ready to lay it before the authorities. It was no less than the capture of the *Pawnee*, the very audacity of which pleased the gallant little colonel immensely. A council of war was held in which Commodore Matthew Fontaine Maury participated, and joined the others in approving the plan of Col. Zarvona. The plan was for Col. Zarvona to go to Baltimore, persuade ten or a dozen young men to go with him, take passage on the *St. Nicholas*, a mail boat running between Baltimore and Washington, and at a given signal take control of her, and dispose of the officers, Col. Zarvona assuming command. The *St. Nicholas* carried the mail of the *Pawnee* and was in the habit of running alongside of her in the night to deliver it, thus giving a party of well-armed men the opportunity to take the vessel by surprise. The Confederate authorities prepared to assist Col. Zarvona by every means in their power. They agreed to station several hundred troops at the mouth of Cone River at a certain hour, so when the *St. Nicholas* stopped at that point they could furnish the force for the expedition. Commodore Hollins, another Marylander, was called in consultation, and it was decided that he should go to Point Lookout with several men, so as to make the capture of the *St. Nicholas* a certainty.

Col. Zarvona, after the completion of the plan, ran the blockade and made his way to Baltimore. Here he made his presence known to several of his old friends and comrades, and in the course of an hour or two ten of them had volunteered to go with him. All they knew was that the adventure was to be an extremely hazardous one in the interest of the Confederacy, but that was sufficient. For

at that time was full of daring young men who were enthusiastic for the Southern cause, and ready for almost anything, many of whom afterwards joined the Confederate army and helped the Maryland troops to gain their reputation for recklessness and audacity. Only one of the ten knew of the exact plan of Col. Zarvona, but all were ready to follow him anywhere.

A short time before this, orders had come from Washington to search all the passengers on the river steamers going to Southern Maryland so as to prevent any effort to carry arms South, and unless Col. Zarvona could escape this search, the expedition would be a failure. On the 28th of June, 1861, a very stylishly dressed young lady, speaking broken English, called with her brother at the office of the *St. Nicholas* and wished to secure a passage to Washington. She was a French milliner, Madame La Forte by name, she said, and had several large trunks, as she wanted to set up her business in Washington. The purser, a

gallant young man, gave her a large stateroom and wished her a pleasant voyage. A short time before the departure of the boat she again appeared with several large trunks, which, at her special request, accompanied as it was by a charming smile, were placed in her stateroom, where they were soon forgotten, though the young lady herself became a very prominent figure on board, flirting outrageously with several of the officers and gentlemen. Meanwhile, a number of other passengers, dressed as laborers, came on board bound for the grain fields of southern Maryland, the harvest having just begun. They were duly searched, but finding nothing they were permitted to go on.

About one o'clock that night they touched at Point Lookout, and Commodore Hollins, Capt. Alexander, and several others came on board as passengers for Washington. The time for action had arrived. Zarvona was the only one of his party known to Commodore Hollins, who was very much surprised on entering the cabin not to see him; but the commodore was quickly enlightened by a significant wink from the French milliner. That lady soon retired to her stateroom and soon afterwards, when the harvest hands happened to be going by the door of her room, they found a young gentleman in brilliant Zouave uniform dealing out rifles, revolvers, and knives from the depths of the milliner's big trunks. Commodore Hollins and Zarvona, revolvers in hand, now waited upon Capt. Kirwin, who was completely taken by surprise, and seeing the uselessness of resistance, surrendered with very good grace, and the vessel was in the hands of the Confederates. John Frazier, a Baltimore pilot, and the only one of Zarvona's party who knew of his plans, was placed at the wheel and the vessel headed for Cone River, where they took on board thirty soldiers of Gen. Holme's command. But Commodore Hollins had been the bearer of news that made the capture of the *Pawnee* impossible. The *Pawnee* had been extremely active during the previous day, shelling Matthias Point, an artillery duel having lasted for several hours, until a shot from a Confederate sharpshooter killed the captain of the *Pawnee*.

The *Pawnee* then proceeded to follow by all the other gunboats on the river to participate in the funeral of the captain.

Knowing that the capture would soon be known, the Confederates determined to make the best of their opportunity. So, heading for the Chesapeake, they were soon on the bay, and almost the first thing they saw was a large brig, the *Monticello*, laden with coffee from Rio. She was immediately captured,







placed under the command of Lieut. Minor, and sent to Fredericksburg, where the cargo was extremely welcomed, because even at that time coffee was very hard to obtain in the Confederacy. In less than an hour they had captured another vessel laden with ice, which was immediately sent to the hospitals in Richmond. The next capture was a brig laden with coal, which came just in time, as the coal supply of the *St. Nicholas* was exhausted. The *St. Nicholas* then took the brig in tow and went up the river to Fredericksburg, where Zarvona and his party were received with great enthusiasm by the citizens of that quaint old place, a ball being given in their honor, in which Zarvona appeared as the French milliner, greatly to the delight of the young ladies.

But it was impossible for Zarvona to remain idle, and he soon decided to return to Baltimore on a mission for the Confederate government. With his usual recklessness and audacity, he took passage on the *Lady Washington*, another river steamer bound for Baltimore. Almost the first person he saw on entering the saloon was Capt. Kirwin of the *St. Nicholas*, who was also returning to Baltimore. Capt. Kirwin immediately recognized Zarvona, and with several other government officials on board, determined upon his cap-

ture. They told Capt. Weems of the *Lady Washington* who Zarvona was, and together they decided to stop the boat at Fort McHenry, ask for a company of troops, and secure Zarvona. By some means he learned of their intentions. When they arrived at Fort McHenry, he was nowhere to be found, though the troops came on board and assisted in the search. He was discovered at last by a mere accident. The colored stewardess happening to pull open a very large bureau-drawer in the ladies' saloon, found Zarvona curled up in it. He was immediately seized and imprisoned in Fort McHenry. From Fort McHenry he was transferred to Fort Lafayette, where he twice succeeded in escaping, to be recaptured almost immediately. The desperate nature of these attempts finally caused the officer in command to confine him in a cell below the water line, where he remained until the end of the war.

After the downfall of the South and the destruction of his hopes, he said that he could no longer live in this country, and he returned to Europe, where the old love of adventure soon seized him, and we hear of him again with Garibaldi, and later on fighting for the tri-color in the Franco-Prussian war.

HADDO GORDON.

*Matthaus belonged to the Seiwalls, was bought by Richard Thomas about 1840 - The description is mainly from fancy except the garden - Zarvona was not a drinking young man -*

## LAST SURVIVOR OF A GALLANT BAND

### TELLS OF DARING DEEDS

George W. Watts Last Survivor Of  
Col. Zarvona Thomas' Band.

### CAPTURE OF THE ST. NICHOLAS

Soldier, Sailor And "Jobless" Painter  
Was Also One Of General  
Pickett's Men.

In a little back room over a Chinese laundry at Madison and Caroline streets lives George W. Watts, soldier and sailor and last survivor of the bodyguard of Col. Richard Zarvona Thomas.

"You mean Old Man Watts, the painter?" asked a policeman in re-

sponse to a query as to where Mr. Watts lived. "That's his room over that Chink's place."

A climb up a long, narrow flight of creaky stairs brought the visitor to Mr. Watts' room and to "Old Man Watts, the painter," himself.

It was a square, but erect, figure that arose from a rickety chair in the corner, removed a rusty old black slouch hat with a sweeping, almost courtly, bow and begged the visitor to be seated on the only other chair in the room.

**A Painter—And Out Of A Job.**

"Are you Mr. Watts?" was asked.

"At your service, sir," was the answer. "Once Lieutenant Watts; now just Old Man Watts, the painter—and out of a job at that."

The voice wavered a little at times, but the eyes were steady, the shoulders held straight, the heels close to-







gether like a drillmaster.

"I'm told you are the last of Col. Zarvona Thomas' men," suggested the caller. "Tell me something about the capture of the St. Nicholas; about Colonel Thomas and yourself."

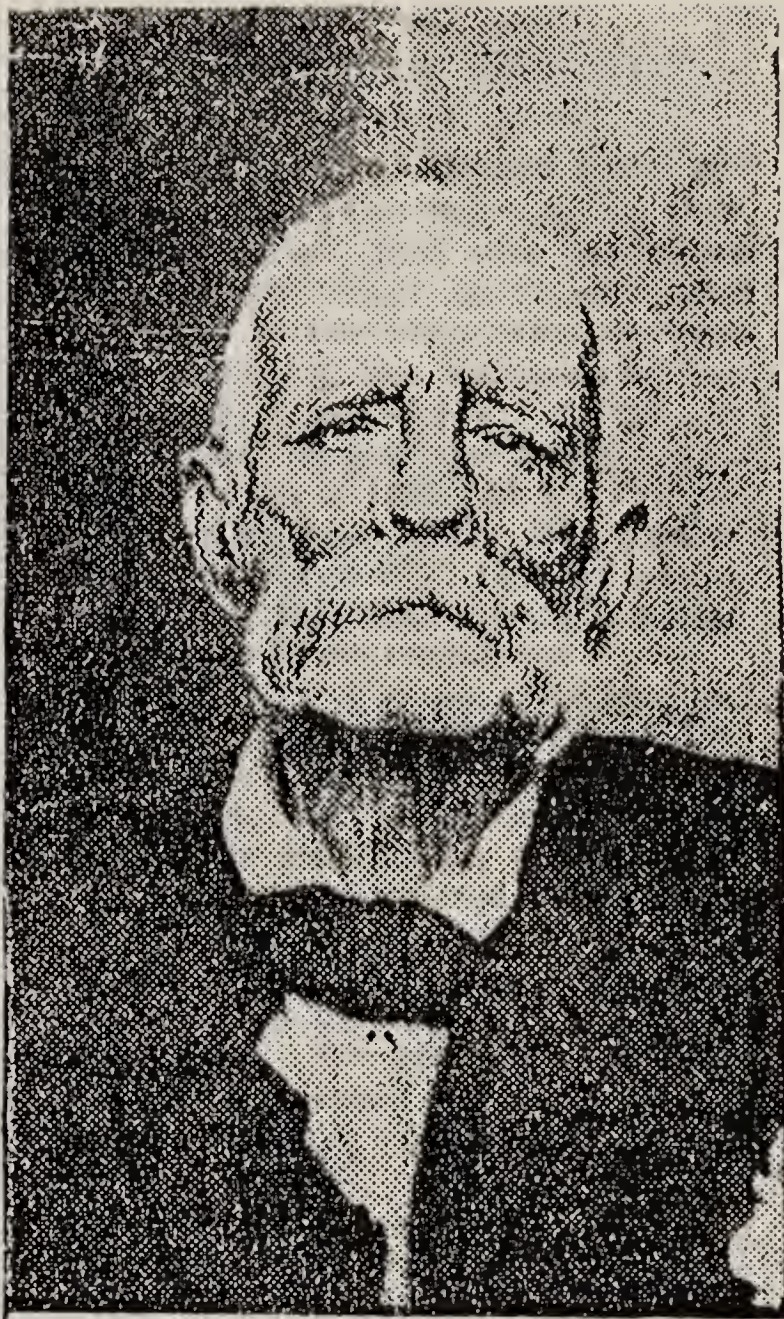
Resuming his seat, "Old Man"—no, Lieutenant—Watts rested one elbow on the table, which bore external evidences of having supported many meals of bread and cheese, slowly adjusted a pair of big-rimmed spectacles—the better to see his interviewer—and told the story of the daring capture of the steamer St. Nicholas in June, 1861, by Colonel Thomas and his band of 16 men. The story of the incident is part of the history of the great Civil War. Colonel Thomas, who was a native of St. Mary's county and an adventurous spirit, took passage aboard the vessel, and—but let Lieutenant Watts tell the story:

#### **Met At Howard And Mulberry Sts.**

"When the war broke out my father was employed by the late Martin Belt and was well to do. In my younger days I had a roving disposition and joined the navy, serving first aboard merchant vessels and then on one of Uncle Sam's warships. We were all strong Southern sympathizers, and one day the information was quietly circulated among those true to the cause that a Colonel Thomas, who had served in foreign wars, was planning a desperate expedition. I nosed around and got wind of what was up, and then one night I met Colonel Thomas and 15 other men. It's been so long ago I can only remember the names of two of 'em—George Alexander, who was a Southern Marylander, and George Frazier, who died last week on Grove street—poor George! I'm the only one left now.

#### **Colonel Thomas Fooled Them.**

"Well, sir, at first I was mighty disappointed with the Colonel. He looked like one of these slick floorwalkers in a department store; I think the other men felt the same way that I did, but pretty soon we found we were all fooled. Believe me, sir, that man had the quickest brain I ever ran across, and his eyes were just as quick. Eyes? Why, when that man looked at you it was like having an X-ray turned on



*LIEUT. GEORGE W. WATTS*

you. It didn't take us long to learn who was boss around there, so we got all our plans ready.

"The St. Nicholas was a big steamer running to points on the Potomac river. Well, sir, at the next sailing of the boat I went aboard with a ticket for some point on the Potomac, I can't remember where. There were about 60 passengers aboard, and among them I counted my 15 comrades. We all kept separated, however, and didn't let anyone know we knew each other. But what worried me a lot was I couldn't find the Colonel or anyone that looked like him. I could see the failure of the whole expedition, and also I could see myself behind the bars at Fort McHenry, and the picture didn't look a bit good to me.

#### **Shocked By "French Lady."**

"Soon after the boat started I couldn't help noticing a mighty pretty young woman, stylishly dressed, flirting outrageously with some young







officers. She talked with a strong French accent, and carried a fan which she used like a Spanish dancer. That young woman behaved so scandalously that all the other women on the boat were in a terrible state over it.

"Just about dusk I was up on deck a-wondering where it was all going to end and whether I'd be hung as a Rebel spy when someone touched me on the arm. I wheeled around like somebody had stuck a knife in me and saw Alexander. He grinned at the way he had scared me and said: 'You're wanted in the second cabin.'

#### **Trunks Filled With Weapons.**

"I hurried below decks and nearly had a fit when I found all our boys gathered around that frisky French lady. She looked at me when I came in, and, Lordy, I knew those eyes in a minute! It was the Colonel. Then he shed his bonnet, wig and dress and stepped forth clad in a brilliant new Zouave uniform. In a jiffy the 'French lady's' three big trunks were dragged out and opened. One was filled with cutlasses, another with Colt's revolvers and the third with carbines. Each man buckled on a sword and pistol and grabbed a gun, and then the Colonel told us what to do.

"The Colonel and two men went to the captain's cabin and routed him out of bed. As I had been a sailor, I was ordered to go to the pilot house and take charge. I found a big nigger at the wheel, and when I stuck my head in the door, he grunted: 'Don't 'low no pass'gers in heah.' 'Shut up, nigger,' said I, shoving my gun close to his face, 'Keep quiet or I'll blow your head off. I own this boat now.' Golly! you ought to have seen his eyes: I thought they'd pop out of his head. All he said was 'Fo' Gawd, boss, don't shoot a po' nigger!'

"Now, I didn't know a thing about the bay, and, as a matter of fact, we were all at the mercy of the negro pilot, only he was too scared to realize it. Said I to him: 'This gun's loaded for nigger, and the moment this boat touches ground my gun's going off.'

Well, to cut this tale short, we landed our frightened passengers at Cone Point and took aboard about 100 Virginia and Tennessee volunteers. Colonel Thomas' plan was to run up alongside the Union gunboat doing guard duty in the Potomac and carry her by boarding, but we couldn't find the gunboat anywhere. Later we learned that the gunboat had gone up to Washington to take the body of the captain, who had died. We had to content ourselves with the capture of two or three merchant vessels, which we ran up to Fredericksburg.

"I never saw Colonel Thomas but once after this expedition. About two weeks after the capture of the St. Nicholas Thomas and some of his men returned to Baltimore, and he and Alexander were captured and sent to Fort McHenry. Alexander made a daring escape, and Thomas was put in irons and sent up North, I believe, to Fort Warren. He had intended to return to Richmond to organize a Zouave regiment, with his original band as a nucleus.

"At Chancellorsville we captured about 8,000 prisoners, and I was one of the officers of the guard that marched them to Richmond. While in the city I heard that Thomas, who had recently been exchanged, was there and I went to see him. He was a wreck—a mere shadow of his former self, and totally unfit for military service. I believe he survived his release only a short time.

#### **At "Stonewall" Jackson's Funeral.**

"I was senior second lieutenant of artillery in Pickett's Division and was one of the guard of honor that escorted Stonewall Jackson's body to the grave. After the war I returned to Baltimore and tried to start life over again. Nobody ever hears a command from Lieutenant Watts now; I'm just a painter—and out of a job at that."

There was a world of pathos in the veteran's voice as the visitor arose to go.

--from the Baltimore Evening Sun, 27 Aug. 1910.







# The War Nobody Knows

By NEIL H. SWANSON

BALTIMORE, July 12, 1861 — The colonel who was no lady has been captured.

It will be remembered that the steamer St. Nicholas was seized ten days ago, below Pt. Lookout, by Col. Zarvona Thomas of St. Mary's county, in the Confederate army. He boarded her at Baltimore, disguised as a French lady of fashion, heavily veiled; later appeared on deck in Zouave uniform, with 25 armed men at his back; seized the ship; landed the passengers on the Virginia shore; took aboard 150 Confederate infantry; raided commerce on Chesapeake Bay, and took three brigs with valuable cargoes to Fredericksburg, Va., where he turned them over to Confederate troops.

After this bold exploit, Col. Thomas returned to Baltimore aboard the steamer Mary Washington, and began gathering men for another privateering expedition. He was seen consorting with known Southern sympathizers, recognized as "the French lady," seized by a provost guard, and hustled to Fort McHenry in irons. What his punishment will be is not yet known.

ZARVONA . . .

100 YEARS LATER

Clipping to right is from Baltimore News-Post of 12 July 1961.

The article below with cartoon "by Gosh" is from the Newport News Daily Press of 4 July 1955.

## REBEL CELEBRATES JULY 4, 1861

# Daring Virginia Colonel Throws Scare Into Yanks

By JOHN ARCHER CARTER

Stand back, Davy Crockett! Make way for your betters! For the duration of this Fourth of July week-end anyhow, make way for Colonel Richard Thomas Zarvona of St. Mary's County, Maryland, amateur female impersonator and aristocrat.

For just 94 years ago this week-end, two full weeks before the rout of the Yankee army at Bull Run, Col. Zarvona threw such a scare into "official Washington" that T. J. Jackson's "stone wall" stand was almost an anti-climax.

He so alarmed the Yankees by his exploits on the Chesapeake Bay that when they learned on July 4, 1861, that he was on his way to Baltimore, with half a dozen chums aboard a passenger boat, and they decided to capture this dashing "pirate and spy," they sent the steamer Chester, a sloop armed with two twenty-four pounders, a battery of artillery, a company of infantry and a posse of Baltimore police to do the job.

Colonel Zarvona had declared his personal independence some weeks before July 4. Until then he had been merely the tall, dark and handsome son of Richard Thomas, a large slave-holder who was widely known as presiding officer in the Maryland State Senate. Baltimore, Richmond, Norfolk, Washington and Philadelphia "society," of course, knew the son, but only as a rich play boy.

Late in June, however, this young fellow outlined to Governor John Letcher of Virginia the most daring—and fantastic—Naval stunt since Perry's adventure on Lake Erie.

His plot, worked out with Captain George N. Hollins of the Confederate navy, envisaged the capture

"by surprise and boarding," of two Federal armed steamers! The Freeborn and the Pawne in the Chesapeake Bay.

Governor Letcher, approving the venture, instantly commissioned young Thomas a colonel of Virginian volunteers.

Naturally, he chose to be a Zouave, and to wear the brilliant Oriental uniform reminiscent of Algerian warriors, with bright red breeches tucked into short white leggings, and with sword and pistol by his side. And he took the name of Zarvona.

Now a popular passenger boat of the day, running between Baltimore and Washington with side trips down into Hampton Roads and up the James, was the steamboat St. Nicholas. She was lying at her wharf in Baltimore the evening of June 20. Most of the passengers were aboard. The skipper, a Captain Kirwan, who prided himself on his knowledge of French, was about to set sail, when a very lovely lady came a-tiptoe up the gangplank.

She was tall, dark and handsome. Her dress was of glittering silk with

ample hoops, and above her curls she wore a bonnet fresh from Paris. Immediately she struck up a conversation with the skipper. She too could speak French. She was French!

Presently the boat set sail, and the pretty lady from Paris speaking no English, tripped to the ladies' saloon, there to sit quietly fanning herself, for the night was hot and so was she. A few hours later the boat stopped at Point Lookout. There a distinguished looking gentleman, obviously somewhere in his seventies, slowly limped aboard.

All quiet along the Potomac to-night? Not for long! Presently it was surprise, surprise! Briskly the elderly gentleman tossed away a gray wig and forty years, and was Captain Hollins, formerly skipper of the seagoing Susquehanna and now of the Confederate States Navy.

"The French lady," in the words of the Southern Literary Miss? ? "took off her bonnet, dropped her hoops and appeared on deck in men's attire and fully armed."

Or as Captain G. W. Alexander, one of the twelve comrades of Zarvona's who had slipped aboard, described it for the St. Mary's Beacon of July 6: "With a shout, he sprang from his stateroom, armed with cutlass and pistol!"

Within seconds, one of the earliest victories of the Southern Confederacy had been won by Balti-







more society's playboy and a dozen friends.

They did not follow up with an attack on the Pawnee and Freeborn, as originally planned, for somewhere in official Richmond, the Confederate Capital, a V. I. P. forbade it. But they did capture three other boats: The brig Monticello from Brazil, with 200 tons of coffee; the schooner Mary Pierce, ten days out of Boston with 250 tons of ice—a most acceptable gift for the Independence Day season; and the schooner Margaret with 206 tons of coal.

As the St. Nicholas came alongside the Margaret, wrote H. Case, first mate of the schooner to the New York Times: "He 'Zarcona' sang out: 'You are a prize to the Southern Confederacy!'".

Then, laden with coffee, ice and fuel, they steamed up the Rappahannock to Fredericksburg and called it a day.

We meet Zarcona thrice after that. First, in Richmond, where a passel of fellow aristocrats—all men—threw a party for him and where, by doubting his talents as a comic, they make him so mad he quits them in a huff. And when a woman, obviously quite low-class but exceedingly gorgeous, thrusts herself into this celebration for men only, they entertain her some thirty risqué minutes before she breaks into Zarcona's baritone roar of laughter.

Next, it's the very Fourth of July, 1861, and he's aboard a passenger boat bound for Baltimore,

for further darring-do. And when he is surrounded by a steamboat, a sloop with two twenty-four pounders, a battery of artillerymen, a company of infantrymen and a posse of Baltimore police, he surrenders.

Finally it's January 1863, two years later, and Zarcona is robustly languishing in a Federal prison. Virginia's governor, backed by the legislature, writes to Mr. Lincoln stating officially that Richard Thomas, known as Zarcona, is a commissioned officer of Virginian volunteers, not a spy and not a pirate. And Governor Letcher will gladly free a Yankee captain, a Yankee lieutenant and five Yankee privates if Mr. Lincoln will free one Zarcona.

So Mr. Lincoln does.



### FEMALE IMPERSONATOR PAR EXCELLENCE

The young Confederate officer, in his gaudy, colorful Zouave uniform, who burst out of the stateroom with pistol and cutlass in hand to capture the armed Federal steamer, in no way resembled the demure French girl who earlier had boarded the boat in Baltimore, but he was one and the same. Col. Richard Thomas Zarcuna, Maryland man-about-town was one of the most ingenious and daring female impersonators of his time, and he employed his talents more than once to further the South's cause. (Drawing by Goshan)



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## ZARVONA IN BOOKS

Below are given quotes from three published works. I am indebted to historian James H. Whyte for the excerpts from the two London publications.

\*\*\*

DOWN SOUTH, by Samuel Philips Day, Hurst and Blackett, London, 1862, pages 119-125:

Met Zarvona at Governor Letcher's house. Told story of *St. Nicholas*. Sixteen Zouaves participated in seizure of ship, later joined by four hundred Tennessee troupes under Colonel Bates. Lt. Henry H. Lewis, later U.S. Navy, relative of George Washington, had assisted with plans. All hands on board forwarded to Richmond as prisoners.

Quoted Capt. Kirwan of *St. Nicholas*: "I didn't like the appearance of that French woman at all, I guess. She sat next to me at table and so close that our legs touched. I thought she looked mighty queer, but I'll be hanged if I thought she was a man!"

George W. Alexander, fierce-looking but withal an intelligent person, informed me that he was chief officer of the ship which first brought Kossuth to England.

Zarvona was 27 years old, fragile in form, with sharp irregular features, sharp indentations in his cheeks, blue eyes, aquiline nose and was closely shaved in the head and face. There was a deep-seated melancholy about the man which might be taken for monomania. He seemed downcast and miserable in the extreme . . . to entertain no idea of enjoyment in this world. His temperment is of the sanguine type and he does not possess what physiologists recognize as a well-balanced mind . . . He appeared to me exceedingly gentle and spoke in a low, weak voice . . . I was assured that some years ago he formed a tender attachment but that the object of his regard expired in his arms while endeavouring to rescue her from drowning. Ever since this unhappy occurrence he is said to be erratic and gloomy and incapable of enduring the slightest disappointment. Referring to the capture of the *Mary Pierce* he said: "What is ice to me, my dear Sir? I want flannel."

Captain Zarvona presented a highly picturesque appearance, attired in blue Zouave costume, white gaiters, crimson cloth cap with gold tassel, and a light, elegant sword. While in public he attracted considerable attention -- became the lion of the hour.

I have reason to believe that the Governor of Virginia and General Lee were fully cognizant, if they did not altogether approve, of his second but unfortunate expedition. I was with him the night previous to his setting out with the Governor and parted from them as they were going to call on General Lee at the Spottswood House.

\*\*\*

LIFE IN THE SOUTH, by Catherine Hopley, Chapman and Hall, London, 1863, vol. 1, page 301:





Colonel Thomas (Zarvona), whose exploit of capturing the *St. Nicholas* and three other vessels has been described by several English writers, has just arrived at the American Hotel and with him several who shared his dangers and honors. What a strange looking man he was as he walked into the dining-room in his Zouave costume and red cap on his closely-shaven head! The tassel hung low down on his shoulders, his neck was bare and scraggy, and his manner silent, reserved, and gloomy. Poor man! He has since proved one of the many victims of the War -- an imprisoned maniac.

\*\*\*

THE CIVIL WAR AT SEA, by Virgel Carrington Jones; Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., New York, 1960, vol. I, page 137:

Thomas was small, almost petite, his health constitutionally poor, and yet his face and manner bespoke the wisdom and hardship of a world adventurer. He had attended West Point for a time just a few years back, and then he had gone off to fight with the revolutionists in China and later with Garibaldi in Italy. To his honor, a scar across his cheek indicated he had not always been in the rear rank. . . . a vivacious individual who identified herself as Madame la Force, modiste. She was chic and refreshing. Fluent French gushed from her lips. It was a language she handles with an ease that marked her nationality beyond question. A bit zany she seemed at first, stamping the deck and screaming excitedly until she was certain several large trunks, shopworn and much belabeled, were safely on board and put in place. Then she settled into the role of trying to be a lady. Among those who won her attention soon after the *St. Nicholas* weighed anchor was a huge Union Army officer who towered nearly two feet above her. As they walked the deck, meandering from saloon to dance hall, she seemed to dangle from his arm. Such an ideal couple! But the madame was fickle, and other men crowded around, obviously not to her displeasure. She radiated charm and personality. A veil covered her eyes and the upper regions of her cheeks, but her gleaming white teeth and reddened lips were without cover, and they demanded attention. There could be no doubt that she was the most popular person on board, and it was only in triumph that she took notice of other ladies in the saloons. Her animated French came in a steady stream as she tossed a fan about and cocked her head at an angle that indicated the particular male voice to which she was listening.

\* \* \*

#### FATE OF THE "ST. NICHOLAS"

After her capture "the *St. Nicholas* was condemned in the (Richmond) District Court in Admiralty and sold for \$18,924.17. It was purchased by the Confederate States Navy, re-christened the *Rappahannock*, and placed under the command of Lt. H. H. Lewis" [see THE CONFEDERATE PRIVATEERS by William M. Robinson, Yale University Press, 1928].

Historian Jones [cited above] states that "the following spring, as the army she was supporting fell back from Northern Virginia to the Peninsula, [the *St. Nicholas*] went up in flames off the wharf at Fredericksburg a fiery sacrifice".





This advertisement was running in the Washington Daily National Intelligencer at the time of the capture of the *St. Nicholas*.

It continued and was not removed from the paper until several weeks later, at which time the agent evidently considered the service no longer available, at least not via the *St. Nicholas*.

Leave at 9, 11, 1, 3, 5, and 7 o'clock.  
Fare each way 20 cents.  
May 28-29w (Star), SAMUEL GEDNEY, Captain.

#### FOR BALTIMORE

And the Potomac River Landings in Maryland.

The Steamer ST. NICHOLAS, Capt. JACOB KIRWAN, will leave Riley's wharf every Tuesday morning at 6 o'clock; leave Baltimore every Friday at 4 P. M. He will stop at all of the Landings on the Maryland side of the Potomac river to land and receive passengers and freight. For freight, &c. apply to THOS. W. RILEY, Agent, Riley's Wharf, 11th street.  
May 18-19MTb8

#### UNITED STATES MILITARY ROUTE.



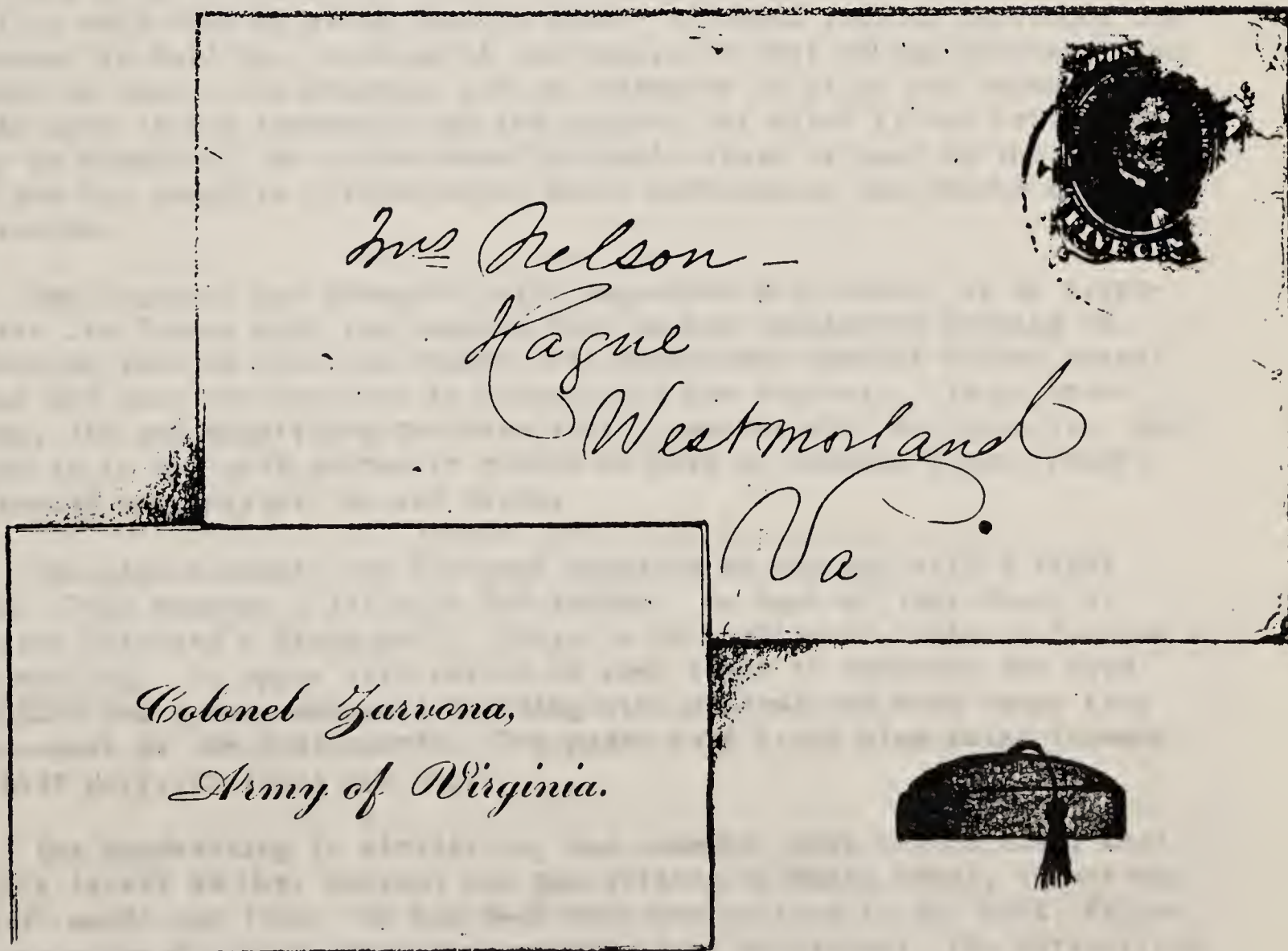
#### SPECIAL NOTICE TO TRAVELLERS.

On and after Thursday, May 16th, 1861.

Passenger Trains Between

#### ZARVONA MEMENTOS

There is but little of a personal nature that is known to exist to-day which was a part of Zarvona during his lifetime. This includes: the letter to Mrs. Nelson, given on pages 219-222; a "visiting" card, reproduced here, and also given me by Anita Thomas; a "statement" in Zarvona's handwriting, written in the later years of his life and later discussed; and a cap worn by Zarvona, as a part of his Zouave uniform.



Zarvona's cap is preserved in the Confederate Room of the Maryland Historical Society. A card states that the cap was presented to the Society



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 DIVISION OF THE PHYSICAL SCIENCES  
 DEPARTMENT OF CHEMISTRY  
 5712 S. UNIVERSITY AVENUE  
 CHICAGO, ILL. 60637  
 U.S.A.

1. The following is a list of the  
 names of the persons who  
 have been appointed to the  
 various committees of the  
 University of Chicago  
 for the year 1961-1962.

COMMITTEES

The following is a list of the  
 names of the persons who  
 have been appointed to the  
 various committees of the  
 University of Chicago  
 for the year 1961-1962.

The University of Chicago

Division of the Physical Sciences

Department of Chemistry

5712 S. University Avenue

Chicago, Illinois 60637

U.S.A.

The University of Chicago

Division of the Physical Sciences

Department of Chemistry

5712 S. University Avenue

Chicago, Illinois 60637

U.S.A.

The following is a list of the  
 names of the persons who  
 have been appointed to the  
 various committees of the  
 University of Chicago  
 for the year 1961-1962.

by Armstrong Thomas (my father) and that it was worn by Captain Zarvona at the time of the capture of the *St. Nicholas*. The cap is of heavy red cloth with dark blue tassel. The brim measures two inches in height, the crown extending one and one-half inches. The tassel with attached cord measures eight inches. Zarvona had a small head--the cap is tight on myself, and I wear a 6 7/8. Inside the cap is an *inner* cap, similar to the outside cap, except without tassel.

\* \* \*

#### RICHARD'S STATEMENT -- ZARVONA'S LAST YEARS

From the foregoing we may infer that few people knew of the details of Colonel Zarvona's life from the time he was released from Fort Lafayette in 1863 to the date of his death in 1875. Grandfather knew, of course, but evidently he made no record. From the London reports we see that he visited that city within a few months of his release, and it has been indicated that, despite poor health, he spent time in France and that he probably participated in further adventurous pursuits in Europe.

Of particular interest, then, is the appearance of an eleven-page document in Zarvona's handwriting written in the year 1873! In this he *mentions* the financial difficulties experienced after the war, the division of the Mattapany estate, his health, his plans--but he fails to tell us much that we would like to know. I should like to reproduce the document in full but, because of the nature of most of the content, this cannot be done. The document has no addressee so it is not known for whose eyes it was intended, and the purpose for which it was written may only be surmised. We do not know Zarvona's state of mind at the time nor are the complete circumstances known surrounding the events of the narrative.

The document was produced, with expressed reluctance, by my first-cousin Jim Thomas with the comment that he had considered burning it. I mention this so that the reader will understand that it is not myself alone who made the decision to blue-pencil the contents. To my knowledge, Jim and myself are the only living persons who have read it. But since it is the only authentic record we have of Zarvona's last years, it should not entirely be set aside.

The eleven sheets are fastened together at the top with a light cord. They measure 7 3/4 by 9 3/4 inches. On back of last sheet is written "*Richard's Statement*". There is no heading or title in Zarvona's handwriting. In upper left corner of each sheet is embossed the word CONGRESS and a many-columned building with central and twin domes (the trade-mark of the stationer?). The pages have light blue rules (common in that day), 25 lines per page.

The handwriting is similar to, but somewhat more mature than, that in his letter to Mrs. Nelson; but the writing is quite small, he averaging 15 words per line. He has made many corrections in the text, beginning on page 3 and increasing in number as he progresses, the corrections being mostly for the purpose of better expression.

His references to the re-division of the Mattapany estate have been given on page 171. Further excerpts from "*Richard's Statement*" are given on the following page.







Excerpts from the document:

I . . . left this country to make preparations for an undertaking from which I expected to get a modest income for the remainder of my life.

At the time I informed him of my plan and . . .

A suggestion was made to him, in my presence, that I might remain here to better advantage; he replied: that my plan was something that I had "carved out" for myself and that it was better for me "to carry it out". . . . the unusually great personal risk . . . I had to run . . .

. . . waiting during two years, at a total loss to me of time and of considerable money. I had to borrow money to find out how matters stood, and returned to this country. . . .

. . . through the delay of two years . . . that it would be, not only impossible for me to commence my original plan, but that in September I would be intirely without money. . . . I would utilize it to enter upon temporary employment during the three years to elapse . . . and that then only (making five years lost time in all) could I commence my original plan. . . . I could not enter upon this temporary employment unless . . . From this employment I did not expect to realize anything for the future, but simply to defray expenses during the three years to come, while I was waiting . . . I expected to commence my original plan, after a lapse of five years, worse than lost time, and a capital only about one half of what I might have had five years previously, (1870) had I . . . as above stated in the presence of Mr. T. Wallis Blakistone. The interview took place in my room in Barnum's Hotel, Baltimore in April 1872.

I then left again this country believing it impossible that . . . terrible position in which I would be left . . . for in addition to money troubles, I was, . . . , in such bad health that I could not do as I liked. . . . On both occasions, in 1870 and in 1872, I yielded . . . contrary to my judgement; . . .

. . . and I had a second time to borrow money, and again came here to find out what was the matter. I arrived in November 1872. . . .

. . . for my losses or disappointments . . . not only my original plans frustrated, but also prevented from obtaining the temporary employment before spoken of-- . . . told me in the presence of Mr. J. Wm. Thomas . . .

. . . I certainly did not expect any particular expressions of gratitude, for I was acting just simply and naturally; and (since my motives have been so often misconstrued), I will add generously, for I knew what I was doing and I was not acting from thoughtlessness or recklessness.

. . . and I was now about leaving "Mattapany" in order to . . .  
[Note: this is Zarvona's only reference to his actually having stayed at Mattapany after the war.] . . .

. . . I can not more forceably convey to those, who really know me, my glorious idea of his sense of honor and my absolute confidence in him, . . . I answered: "You do not know him, he has such a chivalrous idea of honor, that he will be more apt to wrong himself than me, from the very fear that I might possibly be wronged".

. . . but that now my affairs were somewhat complicated, and as one or both of us might die, it was better to regularly arrange matters; he replied to this "that there is but one person . . . and that is my wife and it is she who has advised me to act as I do". Therefrom I felt a





delicacy in urging the request . . . Mr. J. Wm. Thomas' testimony entirely corroborates my own.

. . . This occurred in my presence, in Leonard Town, on or about the 1st of August 1873.

. . . Subsequent events have sadly proved to me that he meant just exactly what he said.

. . .

From the foregoing we have some insight into Zarvona's final years. Obviously they were not happy years. And what a tragedy! After the miserable life-worse-than-death in prison from which it is surprising that he could survive either mentally or physically, Zarvona deserved something better. It is natural that he sought security for his later years and apparently he preferred action to rest or retirement, but he found none of these. It is hoped that his later life was not altogether as troubled as we surmise from the limited recorded history. His devoted mother had died in 1871, but there remained family and friends. Undoubtedly from some of them he received a degree of happiness and comfort.

\* \* \*

## THE REAL ZARVONA

What was the true character of Zarvona? What was he really like? Many characterizations have been given herein, by both friend and foe, family and acquaintances. As to personal description, characteristics, temperament, and so forth, more has been said of Zarvona than of his two brothers. And yet somehow we know him less. Perhaps this is because Captain George and Grandfather were more "average" individuals, while Zarvona was a very different sort of man, a more complicated personality.

A man is often revealed in what he himself writes, and in this respect more space has been given to the Captain and orator and to the soldier making notes on the battlefield than to the adventurer fighting over much of the globe. The possession of Zarvona's letter to Mrs. Nelson gave me the first feeling of reality as to the man and, in fact, was largely responsible for my efforts to learn more about him. It is likely that other letters are in existence; it is believed that seven letters of Zarvona were given to the Maryland Historical Society some forty years ago, but extensive search has failed to uncover them. No photograph of Zarvona is known to exist, but both Hilah and Llew think they have seen one; a search of their attic was fruitless.

Zarvona was a controversial figure. Although the family generally was proud of him, a few were unsympathetic, and this attitude extended to the next generation. And there were even some wild stories of him, told by intimate friends of the family; but the raconteurs could not possibly have known the details, and we must set aside these "facts" as hearsay. It may be that the few Thomases who resented Zarvona did so because he dared to be different, even to the extent of taking unto himself another name. Zarvona had a flair for the theatrical, but there is no suggestion of vanity. We have seen that two writers, one a friend and the other an enemy, have told us that Zarvona had certain eccentricities, but this is not further explained. And it is not understandable why the bare facts of his participation in the Chinese and Italian affairs are so often mentioned, but never are any details given.





As to Zarvona's decision to pursue the life of a soldier of fortune and adventurer (if we may so describe his profession), we have the words of his brother that he was "aroused by the idea of a people seeking liberty". We may conclude that Zarvona was carrying out what he sincerely believed his dedicated calling despite his own statement that "my motives have been so often misconstrued".

We shall never know completely what Zarvona was really like. The best we can do is to accept the evaluation of those who knew him best. Among these, certainly, was John Letcher of Virginia. The Governor was a man of integrity, he knew Zarvona intimately, and he set up living quarters in the Executive Mansion in Richmond for Zarvona's use. He made use of many superlatives in describing Zarvona, and there is no reason to believe the Governor had reason to distort the truth.

But the ultimate tribute to Zarvona perhaps is that, less than twenty months after he found his final resting place in the family burial lot at Deep Falls, a son was born to Grandfather, and this boy was named after the Colonel. This would not have come about except that James William had great admiration and respect for his brother Zarvona.

\*\*\*





## APPENDIX

### FURTHER REMINISCENCES OF MATTAPANY

After reading the proof sheets of this book, Hilda Thomas Mumford started telling me stories of her own about Mattapany. I listened with great interest and, during a pause, I commented that her stories should have been in the book; "I will fit them in somehow", I said. Weeks passed without receiving the stories from Hilda, and I sent her an urgent reminder. Although I can truthfully make the modest statement that all Thomases tend toward perfection, a common fault (myself excepted) is that generally Thomases are slow in answering correspondence. Hilda is no exception. But finally I received a reply: "Your good letter, Armstrong, was home when I got back on Tuesday; here, then, are the bare facts, to be edited and used or discarded as you please". Her enclosed pages, evidently hurriedly written, are given below, only slightly edited by myself. But they were too long to be "fitted in", hence this appendix.

One of my earliest memories of Mattapany is of heavy winds and sheets of rain against the windows. Since there were no porches at that time, the rain lashed against the panes on the river side. There were strange sounds with the winds and you could hear notes issuing from the chimney, all (more or less) in harmony. I loved the sound, and I used to lie on my tummy in front of the fireplace in the living room and listen. I was told that there were wires fastened to the chimney top, put there to make the music which I heard whenever the wind blew.

There was one hour every day whenever I was at Mattapany when I must sew under Aunt Lou's eagle eye. "Sixteen stitches to the inch, please." Her most damning criticism of a woman was to say "She would take 3 or 4 stitches to the inch" -- obviously no lady. And I stitched, and had it ripped, and I stitched again, while the boys played around. Those hideous undergarments I made were vintage 1870, and theoretically were to be worn by me. One day George Calvert asked of me what on earth I was making. Before I could say a word, Aunt Lou appeared from upstairs and spoke out: "George Calvert, go to your room at once!" Hours later, in a whispered explanation, he revealed his inexcusable crime -- he had enquired of a lady about her sewing! [Note: Aunt Lou, for many years, was responsible for the exquisite work on the altar linen and clerical vestments used at Old St. Paul's Church in Baltimore.]

I was about eight when Darwin's theory of evolution broke upon my horizon, and I remember my excitement as I came into the sitting room to explain to the grownups this fascinating idea. I was not interrupted but, when I finished, Aunt Lou spoke up: "That is interesting, and there may be some truth in it; but I wish you to know that if you are descended from apes, Hilda, it is on your mother's side, and NOT through the Thomases!"

Down beyond the barns there was a low whitewashed house in the field. There was no fence around it and the ground in front was beaten bare by children's feet. That house was always our first port of call when we arrived at Mattapany. Aunt Priscilla, tiny, withered, ex-slave, dignified and awesome, must be visited! And so you ran through the barnyard, clutching in your hand a piece of silver which was a part of the ritual







for old and young. You knocked on the door, stepped over the sill, and when inside you shook hands; your growth, your hair, and your manners were commented upon -- and then summer had begun. In some mysterious way the coin meanwhile had left your hand and had stuck to Aunt Priscilla's -- it was seen no more by the giver and was never mentioned.

Far down at the edge of the lawn at the river front was a slight rise before the lawn gave way to the bank and the shore. It was once an Indian burial mound. Slowly as the bank washed away the mound disappeared, but not without being a joy to those children before 1920 who found fascinating arrow heads and bones thereabout. None of these objects bore any meaning to us, but they were fun to find -- usually along the shore after a storm had washed out a bit more bank -- and the collection was kept on a table in the living room to be played with by those too young to hunt. [Note: I do not remember the mound but, at the time of the Maryland Tercentenary (1934), I reluctantly presented my small collection of such items to the newly-reproduced State House at St. Mary's City. The objects were exhibited with an explanatory card reading "Arrow heads and hatchet heads from Mattapany loaned by Armstrong Thomas, Jr." The card has since been removed, but the objects are still on display.]

And I remember frequently sitting on a stool, listening to the stories of the grown-ups; this was an established custom: "Get a stool, dear", they would say, "and come sit by me so I can tell you" -- anything it was you wanted to know, or whatever they wanted you to know. Aunt Kit was full of fascinating stories of her youth, pre-war Maryland and Virginia, of the wonderful visits, four days by carriage to Berryville, Virginia, and the month-long visits that made such trips worthwhile. One never went alone -- the visits included four or five of the family. And so "in season" Mattapany would be full of social gaiety. Miss Eleanor Carroll frequently came for lengthy visits. She told outrageous tales of Zarvona's amorous pursuits within the county. Zarvona, for some period in his life, lived by himself, in a small shack on the Mattapany estate. Miss Eleanor's further tales were of court life in St. Petersburg, in Berlin, and in Vienna in the late 19th century. All the color, glamor, excitement, and brilliance came alive in the halls of Mattapany. And I remember, once, asking about an overheard comment, "Miss Eleanor, why did you put your real emeralds in a bank in Europe and why do you wear make-believe?" We were at dinner and Miss Eleanor sat in her formal white evening dress, with a blaze of emeralds around her lovely throat, banding her wrist, and crowning her head. "No, Loulie, let her ask", she said, "the emeralds are very precious, child, and a temptation to theft, so father had them copied in Paris, and then put in the vaults in a bank there. They are famous, and I love them for the Czar of Russia gave them to me on my 18th birthday. But, like you, I thought it silly to lock up what you love, and when father died, I put the imitation stones in the bank, and ever since I wear the real ones".

Aunt Lou sent for me at college, to come down and help close Mattapany after it was sold. "Nothing that was ours is to be left; what we don't want, pile in the yard and burn" -- those were her orders. Cousin Jeanette Brome had been asked to come up from St. Mary's City, and she had a truck sent up. Father had a scow brought over from our place beyond Solomon's Island, and Aunt Lou had a van for her things; she pointed out what she wanted and it was carried out. Large pieces of





furniture that a big house could use went to Cousin Jeanette. Odd chairs and pictures went to the scow. There was the large engraving of the School of Athens that hung in the hall; as it was being moved, one of the men asked what it was, and another said, "Doan you know? Dat's de Lawd's Las' Supper" -- and they all removed their hats, stood in silence a moment, and then carried out the philosophers. At four o'clock we stopped for tea in the dining room of an almost empty house -- tea with all the formality of old. Only when father's cup went back for a second, Aunt Lou poured in the hot water to rinse it, and then with cold deliberation, she poured the contents on the floor with the heart-breaking statement, "Nothing matters any more".

And very late I was given a flashback to Mattapany in the 70's. Father was dying and, when I asked if there was anything I could do for him, he said he wanted the cast iron fireback from the dining room at Mattapany, to be put in his fireplace in town. So I went down to the country, got a permit to enter government land, and was driven up the road to a stripped home -- all plaster gone, a rough stone house revealing the original structure, the brick library and parlor added on, the former great stone doorway in the west center wall of the hallway all bricked in. Of course I could have the fireback; it was in the cellar. The whole floor was eaten by termites and it had fallen through when they started rebuilding. The fireback turned out to be two enormous pieces of iron, so heavy that each piece could barely be lifted by six men. It is still in the cellar at Mattapany I suppose, for I left it there. And when I sat by father again to explain why I'd left it, he smiled: "It is all right. There was always a fire in that fireplace when we were young. The scene on the fireback was of a child sitting in a field of flowers, and there were sheep around, and one was circled up in his lap. And as the fire burned down, glowing ashes touched the top of every sheep's back, and tipped the flower petals, while they made a sparkling halo around the boy's head. It was very beautiful, very peaceful, and we all shared it."

\* \* \*

#### GOVERNOR JAMES THOMAS

The Letters to the Editors concerning Governor Thomas, written by Armstrong Thomas and James Walter Thomas, referred to on page 136, are reproduced on the next three pages. The letters appeared in the Baltimore SUN of 18 February 1907.







## GOVERNOR THOMAS DEFENDED

### Strong Protests Against Some Historical Criticisms.

Messrs. Editors:

In your issue of Sunday, February 10, Mr. Heinrich Ewald Buchholz has essayed a biography of Gov. James Thomas, in which he is referred to as a "seedy Federalist" and a "lightweight intellect." In illustration of the latter characterization he affirms that "he gave too much thought to petty things and overlooked completely the big affairs." So broad an assertion can hardly be answered in the limited space here permitted. The assertion, however, is one that a responsible historian would not have ventured without the production of facts in its justification. But the biographer sees fit to call attention to but one example of this undue attention to petty things. He says: "He discussed the question of education, but instead of devising ways by which the standard of public instruction could be improved he wrote an essay which contained the reasoning of a child and the sentiments of a backwoodsman. He asserted: 'Superior intellectual capacity is peculiar to no class, to no particular description of persons and, consequently, is oftener to be found in the cottage than in the palace.'" I must admit that I fail to see evidenced in the words quoted either the reasoning of a child or the sentiments of a backwoodsman, nor do I deem public education one of the petty things. The truth of the assertion "that superior intellectual capacity is peculiar to no class" is apparent from a most casual reference to the ancestry of our great men. We have but to refer to Washington and Lee as examples of supreme intellectual capacity among our American aristocracy, and to Lincoln and Clay as representatives from the cabin. In order that those more fully acquainted with the principles of our institutions than the name Heinrich Buchholz would indicate the biographer to be may judge whether the reasoning therein is that of a child or the sentiment that of a backwoodsman, I give in full the text of that portion of the message of Governor Thomas asking from the Legislature a liberal appropriation for public education, to which Mr. Buchholz has referred: "There is no subject upon the mention of which the patriot's heart will more fully expand, or upon which the enlightened Republican statesman more delights to dwell, than the education of the rising generation. Upon them and upon their wisdom and virtue will greatly depend the liberty, prosperity and happiness of thousands unborn. They are destined to fill the places of each and all of us; they are to be the

heirs of all our possessions; the first object of our affection; let them be also the first, as well as the last, object of our bounty. In vain do we hope for a government of equal liberty if a very large portion of our fellow-citizens be incapable of appreciating its advantages. In vain do we talk of equality, while the light of science sheds the beams upon the minds of a few only of our citizens. In vain do we calculate upon the perpetuity of our happy form of government if those who come after us shall be too unlettered to learn from the instructive page of history its origin and great comparative advantages. The strength, prosperity and general well-being of all republics emphatically depend upon the virtue and intelligence of the great body of the people; and in a government so purely republican as ours, where it is not only the right, but the duty of every citizen, at short intervals, to exercise his full and equal share of the sovereign power, it would seem to be peculiarly the duty of the body politic to take care that everyone shall have the means afforded of becoming capable of exercising that power and performing that duty understandingly. The mental capability of her youth constitutes the richest mine—the greatest resource of the state. Assuredly, then, we should provide that this mine be worked—that this great resource be developed. How often do we see youths of superior natural endowment, who might become, if educated, the pride and ornaments of their country, growing up in ignorance and vice because their parents have the misfortune to be too poor to furnish the means of educating them? And how many instances of this sort will not our State afford! Superior intellectual capacity is peculiar to no class; to no particular description of persons, and, consequently, is oftener to be found in the cottage than in the palace—most frequently occurring among the most numerous class."

The biographer, commenting on the services of Governor Thomas in the lower

house of the Legislature (he makes no reference to his services in the Senate) states that in that body he gave his constituents entire satisfaction. There is an implication in the statement, however, that the opinion of those constituents (presumably also backwoodsmen) carried little weight with the eminent historian and biographer. From Mr. Buchholz's biography it appears that James Thomas was three times elected as Chief Executive of the State (the third time without opposition). At that time the Governor was elected by the Legislature, which was composed of representative men from every section of the State. His first election would therefore seem to indicate that his serv-







ices in the Senate and in the House of Delegates had met with the approval of his colleagues as well as of his constituents. His subsequent elections might, to an unprejudiced mind, indicate that he had filled the office of Governor to the satisfaction of a majority of the people of the State.

The period of Governor Thomas' administration is referred to as the "bank mob period." By other historians it is described as the "era of internal improvement." Which designation is the more fitting may be judged from the weight to be attached to the opinions of the several writers.

To the reference to him as a Federalist "run to seed" I take no offense. In the opinion of Mr. Buchholz the whole Whig party was but the Federalist party "run to seed" and the reference is, therefore, impersonal. The Whig party on that day was the Conservative party, opposed to the extreme doctrines of the Federalists on one hand and to the executive usurpation of Jackson on the other. Like most conservative parties, while safeguarding the most vital interests of the nation, it failed of outward success, the populace oscillating between extremes. Its principles, as expressed in its platform of 1844, were "a well-regulated national currency, a tariff for revenue to defray the necessary expenses of government and discrimination with special reference to the protection of the domestic labor of the country; a single term for the Presidency and a reform of executive usurpation." By some it might not be deemed unpatriotic to hope that one of the great parties of today would "run to seed."

Mr. Buchholz further states that "Thomas" was by persuasion decidedly aristocratic and that in not a few of his public performances there is seen in him a striving after that kingly demeanor which came natural to some of his predecessors, but which was decidedly artificial in him. As a descendant of the first Lord Proprietary and of the first royal Governor of the province it would be surprising if he were not a little proud of his aristocracy. That he strove after a kingly demeanor, however, I was not aware. As it is in a number of public performances that Mr. Buchholz has detected this striving I hope he will be kind enough to furnish me with a reference to one such performance.

ARMSTRONG THOMAS.

Baltimore, February 12.

## Another Protest.

Messrs Editors:

In *THE SUN* of Sunday, February 10, there appeared an article entitled "The Governors of Maryland," subtitle "James Thomas." This is one of a series of articles doubtless designed by *THE SUN* for the laudable purpose of making, what they might have been if edited upon broader lines, a valuable contribution to Maryland history. But contracted in scope and meager in data as they are, they do not possess the merit anticipated for them, either as biography or as history. In fact, they are practically limited to a brief sketch of the subject, and an account of the rise and fall of political parties in Maryland, though these are usually linked up with an attack upon contemporaneous conditions, as seen from within the circle of the author's narrow orb. In the particular article in question, it was Governor Thomas himself who was made the subject of the author's malevolent and vindictive spirit, but even that had to have its tangent and its sidelights.

Governor Thomas is charged with having had aristocratic tendencies, and this suggestion forthwith furnished the excuse for a most wanton and flagrant attack upon all the Revolutionary and patriotic societies in the country, concluding it with an accusation and a fling, as grossly exaggerated and equally as scurrilous, against the customs and manners of the people of Maryland. When he returns from this desultory degression and unwarranted assault, to the subject of his sketch, he exercises even still less restraint upon his imagination and his temper, as though wishing to hold Governor Thomas responsible for those fancied conditions.

He could not even be fair and candid in recording the official positions held by Governor Thomas, stating in effect, that his political experience had been limited to a service of six years in the Lower House of the General Assembly, and omitting altogether the slightest allusion to his long term in the Senate of Maryland, prior to his election as Governor of the State, the most active period, perhaps, in his political career.

He says Governor Thomas has been referred to as the "Bank Mob Governor." This is a willful misstatement of fact. Nowhere can be found such an allusion to him, except as the result of the author's own puerile imagination. President Jackson, whose attitude toward the United States Bank largely brought about the failure of the Bank of Maryland and of so many other institutions throughout the country, might with equal propriety be characterized as the "Bank Failure President," and yet, with all the enemies he had, no one







has been found so eminently unfair as to invent such a title for him. What Governor Thomas, or his administration had to do with the failure of the Bank of Maryland, it is impossible for a sane or thinking man to see, any more than that the President of the United States is today responsible for the failure of national banks so frequently occurring. It is, however, a fact that when the disturbances which were incident upon this bank failure came Governor Thomas promptly placed himself at the command of the proper authorities, with readiness to act within constitutional limits, and left no duty in that connection as executive of the State unfulfilled.

He says Governor Thomas "advocated unlimited internal improvement at the expense of the State and nation." This is also a perversion of the facts in the case. Governor Thomas, as member of the Senate, became the active and leading exponent of a system of internal improvements looking to the promotion of the State and the development of its resources. To this end he warmly and earnestly urged upon the floor of the Senate the building of the Chesapeake and Ohio canal, the Susquehanna (now Northern Central) and the Baltimore and Ohio railroads, but it nowhere appears that he was in favor of the system to an "unlimited" extent or that the work should be done at the public expense. But it was a fact everywhere conceded that these great arteries of trade could not be constructed except by the State lending to them its aid. To two of them loans were made during the administration of Governor Thomas, and, as suggested, perhaps largely through his influence, that of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal and the Susquehanna Railroad, \$2,000,000 to the former and \$1,000,000 to the latter. So much in earnest were the people over the passage of this measure that delegations from different sections of the State went to Annapolis to urge its success, and it passed both houses of the General Assembly by nearly a two-thirds majority. This plan of industrial development was advocated by a great majority of the leading men of the State. New York had pursued a similar policy with its Erie canal, as had Pennsylvania with its then important waterway between the cities of Pittsburgh and Philadelphia. Washington had stood sponsor for a similar system of commercial expansion, as had also Madison, Monroe and both the elder and younger Adams. Great indeed was the public interest that had been awakened in economic and industrial development, and as a means of affording better commercial facilities the period covered by the administration of Governor Thomas was marked by perhaps unprecedented activity along those lines. The first geological survey of the State was provided for at that time, numerous ferries

and bridges were constructed across the freshwater streams of the State, a large number of companies were incorporated for the building of turnpikes and highways, the "National Pike," the great roadway connecting the East and the West, was being completed by the national Government, and out of which grew that spirited correspondence between Governor Thomas and the Secretary of War, Hon. Lewis Cass, that resulted in bringing to the State such substantial advantages.

The author's reference to the position of Governor Thomas upon the subject of education is only in keeping with the rest of his article—showing evident ignorance of the facts and animated apparently by the spirit of petty malice. Maryland had no more ardent friend of education than Governor Thomas, a fact which even a cursory glance at its archives would easily have established, had there been a desire so to do. As a member of the Legislature and as Governor of the State, he stoutly stood not only for a higher academic, but a more extended primary system of public education. During his administration 11 additional academies were established in Maryland, exclusive of the Patapsco Female Institute and Franklin College, both incorporated during that period; and it is a matter of record that when St. John's College in 1835, was striving to recover from its misfortunes and seeking the means by private subscriptions to erect the addition known as "Humphrey's Hall" and to otherwise restore the institution to its former high plane of usefulness Governor Thomas was the largest subscriber out of his private means of any citizen of the State.

The author's criticism of some of the State papers of Governor Thomas and his cordial greeting to his associates in the State government is couched in language that could only have emanated from one who has no cause or reason to respect either persons or things belonging to the past, and who is incapable of appreciating the logic and the courtesy of a man standing for the high class of statesmanship and the school of social culture which Governor Thomas had the distinguished honor to represent.

It has been my purpose here to simply point out the gross injustice and palpable unfairness (to saying nothing of its extreme coarseness) of the author's methods of dealing with what purports to be the biography of a man of the unblemished character and commanding position of Gov. James Thomas. This is so out of keeping with THE SUN'S usual course in treating matters historical that the only theory on which it can be accounted for in this case is that it escaped your attention.

JAMES WALTER THOMAS.

Cumberland, Md., Feb. 12.





In the name of the Holy and ever blessed TRINITY,  
 God the Father, Son and Holy Ghost,  
 and conformably with the godly order and administration  
 of the Catholic Church of Christ in the United States of  
 America. Richard Thomas — has this  
 day received the seal of confirmation by laying on of hands  
 with prayer, having openly before the Church ratified,  
 confirmed, and solemnly affirmed his baptismal vows  
 and obligations, in presence of me.

William Robinson Whittingham

BISHOP OF MARYLAND.

William & Mary Can this 22<sup>d</sup> day of November, in the year of our LORD 1848.  
 St Mary's Co

ZARVONA'S CONFIRMATION INTO THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH





















